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# REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN

BY

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## INTRODUCTION.

**I**n 1924 I was enabled through the generous assistance of the Norwegian Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture to go on a linguistic mission to the north-western frontier of India and Afghanistan.

The object was to study the Aryan dialects on both sides of the Indo-Iranian linguistic frontier. For thousands of years these two closely related groups of languages have been in close contact in the Hindu Kush and adjoining mountains; invasions and expansions have pushed the frontier-line, now towards the east, now towards the west, and the border languages have largely influenced each other, the result being very interesting deviations from the ordinary Indian and Iranian types.

The languages on the Indian side belong to the so-called Dard group, many of them very imperfectly known, and some absolutely unknown. It was a much discussed problem, whether they were completely Indian, or belonged to an intermediate group, or were to be classed as Iranian. Moreover, our knowledge of the Iranian languages in question was very limited. And further, with a view to the investigation of the Caucasian languages planned by the Institute, it was considered important that the Iranian scholar who was eventually to undertake the study of Ossetic should previously have made himself personally acquainted with Eastern Iranian languages connected with that form of speech.

Altogether the Hindu Kush region appeared to be a very promising field of investigation for the student of comparative philology, who could here hope to come

across the last of the unknown Indo-European languages which are still spoken.

Very fortunately the investigations initiated by the Institute coincided with the beginning of a new era in Afghanistan. King Amanullah Khan wished to open his country to the influence of European civilization, and for the first time it had become possible for a scholar to pursue his investigations in the heart of Afghanistan.

His Majesty and his government supported my efforts most liberally, besides treating me personally with conspicuous hospitality, and any results which the mission may have yielded, are to a great extent due to the assistance of the Afghan authorities. It is my pleasant duty and privilege to express once more the Institute's and my own sincere gratitude to His Majesty for the enlightened interest he graciously showed in the investigation of the linguistic treasures of his country.

My position in Afghanistan was also rendered considerably easier by the personal letter of introduction to the Amir from His Majesty the King of Norway, for which I also desire to express my gratitude.

I arrived in Peshawar in February 1924, and spent about six weeks there, practising Pashto with the excellent munshi Qazi Ahmad Jan, and studying the dialects of the Afridis and other tribes.

At the beginning of April I proceeded to Kabul. Here the government kindly accommodated me in the superbly situated Harem Serai of Abdur Rahman in the Bagh-i-Babur outside the city, and I stayed in Kabul for about seven months, till the end of October, except for some short excursions for the purpose of linguistic studies.

The rebellion in Afghanistan made it impossible for me to reside in more outlying parts of the country, or to get permission to penetrate into the unknown and fascinating mountain fastnesses of Nuristan (Kafiristan). But in a country like Afghanistan, where even the general outlines of the linguistic situation were to a great extent

unknown, it was probably more profitable to stay in Kabul, like a spider in the centre of the web, getting at least a superficial view of the different languages spoken in the country, than to bury oneself in a mountain valley, concentrating upon the more thorough study of one single dialect.

It may safely be predicted that within a short space of time several of the old languages of Eastern Afghanistan will have succumbed to the influence of Persian, which is constantly growing stronger through the centralization of the government and the spread of education. Partly they will be directly superseded by Persian, as in the case of Ormuri. Partly the dialects will decay internally through the overwhelming Persian influence. This seems to be the case with North-Western Pashai, and with Parachi. Even the Kafir languages, which till now have been isolated, have at length yielded to the levelling influence of Islam, and the younger generation use a good many Persian loan-words. Thus it is to be feared that much ancient Aryan linguistic material of great interest will be lost, unless it is soon rescued from oblivion.

For pioneer work Kabul was undoubtedly the best place to be found. People from the different tribes of Nuristan, Kohistan and Badakhshan come down there as traders or in search of work, and even the war was of some use, inasmuch as it led to the assembly of recruits in the Sherpur cantonments. It will be readily understood that the task was not always an easy one. Even at its best it is difficult and tedious work, though partially relieved by comical interludes, to extract linguistic information from such uneducated and easily wearied individuals. And in a case like this, where I considered it my duty to collect vocabularies and specimens from as many languages as possible within the short time at my disposal, I hope that a lenient view will be taken of the errors and inexactitudes, not to mention lacunae, which will be found in my materials.

It was only natural that many people in Afghanistan should regard a linguistic investigator with mistrust, and suspect him of having other than purely scholarly aims. An old Pathan put it naively and bluntly, when he said I was the son of "Kamnari Sahib" (Sir Louis Cavaignari, renowned in the Afghan-British war of 1879), who had sent me to collect information about the languages and customs of the border tribes, while he himself waited with an army on the frontier! But the assistance of the Afghan authorities helped me to a large extent to overcome these difficulties. I also met with, and shall always remember with feelings of gratitude and affection, several intelligent individuals from the hill-tribes, who trustfully and cheerfully did their best to give me the fullest information about their mother-tongues; and who seemed at least to have a dawning comprehension of the object of my mission: to trace, by means of the evidence of language, the history of tribes for thousands of years separated from, but nevertheless related to the "Firangis". I must also mention that my Pathan servant from Peshawar, Yasin Khan, always showed the greatest energy in looking out for individuals who spoke strange languages.

At the desire of the Institute I returned via India, collected some information about Pashai dialects amongst the soldiers of the garrison in Jallalabad, and stayed for a short time in Peshawar to make use of the opportunities to get in touch with trans-border hillmen there. In this work I was materially assisted by the authority of my kind host, Mr. B. C. A. Lawther, Superintendent of Police.

On the way down to Bombay I also had opportunities of meeting Pathan traders of different tribes, and of getting some scraps of information about southern Pashto dialects.

Before entering upon an account of the languages studied, and a discussion of some of the main problems connected with them, it may be of use to give a brief survey of the languages spoken in Afghanistan.



Probably at least  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the population of Afghanistan speak Iranian languages, chiefly *Pashto* and *Persian*, the remaining Iranian dialects being spoken only by numerically insignificant tribes. It is impossible to ascertain the actual numbers who speak the different languages; but there are probably about the same number of Pashto-speaking people, as of Persian-speaking Parsivans, Kizilbashis and Hazaras. Nor does the migrations of the nomads permit us to lay down fixed lines of demarcation between the languages; but, generally speaking, the map in LSI., Vol. X is fairly correct as regards the extension of Pashto.

*Balochi* is spoken in the southern deserts, and, according to information received from German travellers, considerably to the north of the limit given on the map in LSI., Vol. X, e. g. for several stages along the Herat-Kandahar road between Helmand and Khash Rud. In the north-east we find the Pamir dialects, viz. *Minjani*, *Ishkashmi* and *Zebaki*<sup>1</sup>, *Wakhi*, *Shughni* and *Roshani*. *Ormuri* is spoken in the Logar valley, and *Parachi* in several villages in the Kohistan of Kabul. Possibly *Kurdish* is still in use among some immigrants west of Herat.

Of Indian languages we find *Lahnda* spoken by Hindus who for hundreds of years have been settled in Eastern Afghanistan as traders and bankers in the towns, and, at least in the Koh-i-Daman district, to a great extent as horticulturists. Apart from having adopted many Persian words, their dialect does not appear to present many striking peculiarities. In Kabul numerous recently immigrated Sikhs speak *Panjabi*.

The chief indigenous Indian language is *Pashai*. Higher up the Kunar river we find *Gawar Bati*. Possibly *Kalasha* and *Khowar* are also spoken within Afghan territory. The four Kafir languages are *Kati*, *Waigeli*,

<sup>1</sup> Recruits from Zebak and Ishkashm denied the existence of any separate language in these places! Considering that Sir Aurel Stein collected Ishkashmi materials as late as in 1915, this shows the danger of relying on negative information.

*Ashkun* and *Prasun*; and *Tirahi* is spoken south-east of Jallalabad <sup>1</sup>.

If *Armenian* traders in Herat have still preserved their native tongue, it is the only non-Aryan Indo-European language spoken in the country.

The chief non-Indo-European language is *Turki*, spoken in various dialects by *Uzbeks*, *Sarts* and *Turkmens* north of the Hindu Kush. The governor of Mazar-i-Sharif asserted that some nomadic tribes to the west of that city still speak *Arabic*. While the Mongol Hazaras have generally adopted a peculiar dialect of Persian, *Mongolian* is still spoken by Taimanis about Rud-i-Gas and Adraskand near Sabzawar (the villages of Mir Mana, Bedak, Hazi Kah, Karez Sultan, Pir Surkh, Gaza and Chashma Khuni were mentioned), and possibly also between Maimana and Herat (acc. to one of the secretaries of the Russian legation). The Mongolian language does not cross the Indian frontier as asserted in «*Les Langues du Monde*», p. 224. I do not know whether *Brahui* crosses the Afghan frontier near Kandahar <sup>2</sup>, nor if any of the Caucasians deported by Nadir Shah to the region about Farrah still retain their native language.

At any rate the language map of Afghanistan presents an extremely variegated picture, at least twenty different languages being spoken within the Amir's dominions. At the height of the Afghan empire, when it included Balochistan, Sindh, Kashmir etc., and when, in addition to several Indian languages, *Brahui* (Dravidian), *Balti* (Tibetan) and *Burushaski* (of unknown origin) were spoken within its borders, Afghanistan was actually the linguistic centre of the Eurasian continent, and nearly all its chief families of languages were represented there.

It was of course neither possible, nor the object of the mission to study all these tongues; and there was no opportunity or time to study all the Aryan languages.

<sup>1</sup> Also the *Doms* and *Jatts* are said to possess languages of their own.

<sup>2</sup> The map attached to Sykes' "History of Persia", Vol. II places Brahuis south of Helmand within Afghan territory.

On the Iranian side I concentrated upon *Pashto*, *Parachi* and *Ormuri*, and collected some information about *Shughni* and *Afghan Persian*. Among the Indian languages I secured a good deal of material about *Pashai*, *Kati* and *Khowar*; somewhat less about *Waigeli* and *Ashkun*, and very little about *Prasun*.

## PERSIAN.

Persian is spoken by Parsivan and Tajik peasants in most parts of the country, and by the majority of the population of all towns, perhaps with the exception of Kandahar. Even so far east as Jallalabad the population in the immediate surroundings of the town speak Persian, not Pashto, and Kabul is almost entirely Persian-speaking.

The Pers. dialect of Afghanistan is, even when spoken by educated people, rather different from the modern «Irani» of Persia, and Persian gentlemen told me that they had some difficulty in understanding it during the first weeks of their stay in Kabul. There do not seem to be very important dialectal variations; but the Hazaras have some particularities in their language. Pashais, Kafirs etc., when talking Pers., adapt the pronunciation to that of their own languages, e. g. a Pashai from Tagau says *žād* "memory" for *yād*, *bupuraš* "sell" for *būfurōš* etc.; but as far as I know this is only the case with people to whom Pers. is a foreign, acquired language<sup>1</sup>.

The points of difference between the Pers. of Persia and of Afghanistan are chiefly matters of phonology and vocabulary, and to a less extent of morphology. The old majhūl vowels are preserved, *ē* always, even so far west as in Herat, *ō* generally, but with some variations according to the locality. Before *i* one generally hears *ū*, *ü*, e. g. *mūi* "hair", *šūi*, *šūi* "husband". The *ā* is pronounced either as *ā* or as a dark *â* (like the Swedish). It never becomes *ū* before nasals.

<sup>1</sup> From Kafirs I heard pronunciations such as *štur* "how": *citaur*; *zanəxt* "his own wife": *zan-i-xud* etc.



The final *-d* in the 3 sg. of verbs is lost, and at first one is puzzled by forms like *mēga* "he says": *mīgūyad*, *mēran* "they go": *mīravand*. In the preterital forms like *būd* "he was" the *d* is preserved or becomes unvoiced (*kadam* "I did", *kat* "he did": *kardam*, *kard*). Very peculiar is the *t* in *mētom* "I give": *mīdeham*, *bitī* "give": *bideh*. It is found also in other eastern Pers. dialects, and in the Kashan dialects. Possibly the lost *h* has unvoiced the *t* (*deh* > *dh* > *t*). *xv-* is preserved, at least in some words: *xvâr* "sister", *xvârî* «distress», but *xau* "sleep", *xândan* "to sing" etc. *mā* and not *man* is used for the personal pronoun 1 sg., and to denote *we* expressively one has to say *māyā* or *mā mardum*.

The infinitive ends in *-da*, *-ta*, e. g. *kada* "to do". Either the *n* is lost as in *î* "this", *bubî* "look" *buku* "do", or, the form is connected with the infinitivus apocopatus. As in Central Asian Tajiki etc. the 2 pl. ends in *-în*, e. g. *mētîn* "you give"; but Kizilbashis in Peshawar still say *mēdehên*.

Characteristic is also the formation of the future, e. g. *xâhad bugîrum* "I shall seize": *xvâham girift*. Hazaras use forms like *mā puxtagî* "I have cooked", *mā kardagî* "I have done".

There is a peculiar use of the suffix *-vârî* in comparisons, e. g. *az mā-vârî* "like me", and of *kada* (< *qadr*?) to replace the missing comparative: *az mā kada kalân*<sup>1</sup> "bigger than I".

The vocabulary of Afghan Pers. has to a very small extent borr. from the old Ir. and Ind. tongues, which it has superseded, and the number of Psht. words is also negligible. These languages have also been considered socially inferior, and they are all, even including Psht., receding before Pers. Not a few Turki words are in common use; but the great majority of loan-words, peculiar to the Pers. of Afghanistan, are of Hindostani origin.

<sup>1</sup> As *buzurg* and *pîr* have an exclusively religious significance, and denote a saint, "great" and "old" (of men) are now called *kalân* and *rîšsafêd*.



A suffix like *-vālā* is freely used, and compounded with Pers. words; one constantly hears words like *bēlvālā* "spade-man", or even *xud-extiyārvālā* "an independent man".

In some cases ancient words are still in use, which have disappeared in ordinary Pers. Thus "daughter-in-law" is called *sunū* (Vullers *sunah*, *sunhār*, Koran Comm., *sunuh*, Browne, JRAS., 1894, p. 472), and "husband's brother" is *(h)ēvar* (not in Vullers). This last word must be connected with Psht. *lēvār*, Skr. *devara-* etc., even if the disappearance of the *d-* cannot be explained. The word *nanū* "husband's sister" is also curious, reminding one of Psht. *nandrōr*, Lahnda *ninār* and other modern Ind. derivatives of Skr. *nanandr-*.

Generally speaking the Pers., at least of Eastern Afghanistan, is related to the Tajiki of Turkestan, and seems to have been introduced from there, rather than from Persia itself. The Badakhshi and Madaglashti dialects described in the LSI. and by Col. Lorimer (RAS. Prize Publ. Fund, VI) are also very closely related to the Pers. spoken in and about Kabul.

I have collected some texts, and various other information about Afghan Persian.

## PASHTO.

The real Afghan language, Pashto, is probably spoken by less than half the population of Afghanistan; but on the other hand it is the language of the majority of the inhabitants of the N. W. Frontier Province of India. In the towns of Afghanistan the children even of Durrani families are adopting Pers., and among the pupils of the French school in Kabul I found only a few boys who understood Psht.

The official language of Afghanistan is Pers.; no Psht. literature is produced; the old poets seem to be little known, and their divans are not printed and sold in the bazar, as is the case in Peshawar.

The present king desires to introduce Psht. as an official language in order to strengthen national feeling,

and a learned committee, the Majlis-i-Pashto, has been formed under the presidency of Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan, an uncle of the queen. Its object is to publish a Psht. grammar and a Pers.-Psht. dictionary, including the necessary newly coined technical terms. It is to be hoped that this dictionary which is intended to contain words from all Psht. dialects with an indication of their provenience and a transcription in Roman letters, will be published within a reasonable time. I have recently received information from the Sardar that the dictionary is finished, and will be in four or five volumes, but has not yet been printed.

There did not appear to be much enthusiasm about the Pashto revival in Afghanistan. The fact is that, while most Pashais, Kafirs, Turks, and probably very many Afghans, know a little Pers., comparatively few Parsivans etc. know Psht.; if they speak it at all, it is often of an execrable kind; e. g. one may hear sentences like *zə paisā varḱəṛē ima* "I have given him money", with the passive and active constructions mixed up. Certainly there are many more people in the country who know at least a little Pers., than there are who know Psht. All instruction in reading and writing is given entirely in Pers., and it might be hard to break the tradition which upholds Pers. as the official language.

Just as in India the Peshawar dialect is predominant, and is influencing educated speech in other parts of the Frontier Province, a modified Kandahar dialect is in use among the higher classes in Kabul. I even met an Orakzai refugee who had adopted this form of Psht. The orthography used in Kabul is also based on Durrani pronunciation, and differs from the classical and Peshawar standard.

I studied the dialect of Peshawar with the munshi Ahmad Jan, and with my servant Yasin Khan, a Khalil, whose dialect however differed very little from ordinary Yusufzai. I also wrote down tales from his dictation. In Peshawar I had an opportunity of working with Afridis belonging to different tribes, and collecting stories

in their dialects. About the Ghilzai dialects I obtained some information in Kabul, and I also questioned people talking several other dialects.

The LSI. gives some impression of the dialectal variety of Psht. which in reality is even far greater. The Afridi dialect is not at all homogeneous; there is a considerable difference between the speech of the Malikdin Khel and the Zakha Khel, while e. g. the Kuki Khel use the strange word *dyū* "we" (originally "these"?). The Bangash of Kohat is not the same as that spoken in Upper Kurram, and the name Ghilzai covers a great variety, not only of tribes, but also of dialects.

There is no absolute line of division between "soft" and "hard" Pashto. In southern dialects like Waziri and Kandahari *š* (ش) is pronounced as a palatal *ś*, e. g. *śəl*, *viśt* "20", and *ş* (ښ) is pronounced somewhat further back, but is not very different from English *sh*, e. g. *śəl* "stairs", *vēšta* "hair". Both in Kandahar and in the Mahsud dialect of Waziri the two sounds are quite distinct. In his Waziri Grammar J. G. Lorimer makes no distinction between "*shel*" "20" and "*shel*" "stairs".

Among the southern Ghilzai tribes, such as the Sliman (Sulaiman) Khel's, the *ş* is pronounced with the tongue retroverted very far back, and in northern Ghilzai dialects, e. g. in Maidan, west of Kabul, and in Laghman, the sound approaches *x*.

Finally, in the north-eastern dialects, like Afridi, Yusufzai, Mohmand etc., *ş* is not distinguished from *x*.

In a similar way we find *z*, *γ* etc. as transitional stages between the *ž* of the South, and the *g* (ج) of the North.

In the Yusufzai dialect the coalescence of *ş* and *x*, of *z* and *g*, together with the transition of *ž* to *j* and of *ts*, *dz* to *s*, *z*<sup>1</sup> has eliminated several un-Indian sounds

<sup>1</sup> Even in Peshawar it is considered more correct to pronounce the (t)s, (d)z in the same position as the *t*, *d*, viz. with the tongue against the edge of the upper teeth, not against the back of them as in the case of ordinary *s*, *z*, and perhaps with greater force of articulation. But the distinction is not generally observed.



from the phonetic system. Only  $x$ ,  $z$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\check{s}$  which have also to a large extent been adopted in loan-words in Ind. languages, are allowed to remain.

Cerebrals are found, not only in Ind. loan-words, but also in many words of uncertain origin, containing un-Indian sounds like  $x$  or  $z$ . Also nasalized vowels are used<sup>1</sup>. And the pronunciation of  $n\dot{r}$  also agrees with the conditions in Lhd., where  $\dot{n}$  becomes  $\sim r$ , just as  $\check{n}$  becomes  $\sim j$  (e. g. *sūj* "waste" < *sūnya*-, *sūjār* "intelligence" < *sujñāna*-). That in Psht. also  $\sim r$  is secondarily developed from  $\dot{n}$ , is shown by the word *rūr* (*rūnr*) "bright", where the  $\dot{n}$  originally contains no  $r$ , but is derived from  $*z\dot{n}$  <  $x\check{s}\dot{n}$ . It seems probable that this anticipation of the nasalization in which the transition from  $\dot{n}$  into  $\sim r$  consists, is due to Ind. influence.

Thus Psht., and especially the Peshawar dialect, has been largely Indianized in its phonetic system; but it is worthy of note that it has entirely rejected the aspiration of consonants.

The extent of the Ind. influence upon Psht. vocabulary and phraseology will be easily realized on comparing the LSI. specimens of Kohat Psht. and Kohat Hindki.

The Ind. loan-words in Psht. are generally drawn from modern Hindostani or Lahnda (in contrast with the remarks of Darmesteter: *Chants Populaires*, p. XVI, the latter source is by far the more abundant). A few loanwords are derived from an Ind. language in an earlier stage of development, or from some Dard dialect. E. g. *laṣṭa* "rod, stick" (Hind. *lāṭhā*), *ṣuṇḍ* "lip" (Tirahi *ṣunda*), *vəṣ* "poison" (Kati *viṣ*), *parṣi* "rock" (Kati *parṣi* "mountain") etc.

But the problem of the antiquity of the connection between Psht. and Ind. will be more conveniently discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> According to Ahmad Jan a word like *mūṅg* "we" is actually pronounced *mūḡ*; but to my ear it sounded more like *mūṅg*, probably with nasalization only of the latter part of the vowel. In the same way *rūṅr* "blind" is more exact than *rūr*.

Here I shall only mention one of the many questions connected with Psht. phonology. It is well known that the Ir. sound which is generally considered to have been an  $\bar{a}$ , is, when accentuated, often represented in Psht. by  $\bar{o}$ , and Ir. "a" by  $a$  or  $\bar{a}$  (*mōr* "mother" < \**māθr-*, *plār* "father" < \**pitar-*, *las* "10" < *dasa-*). But scholars who, like Professors Andreas and Wackernagel, suppose that the Ir. vowels in question were pronounced  $\bar{o}$  and  $o$ , also claim the Psht.  $\bar{o}$  in support of their view, just as they think they have evidence in the modern Pers. pronunciation of "ā" as  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{o}$ . We have seen, however, that the Afghan Pers., which is very archaic in its vowel system, generally has  $\bar{a}$  or  $\hat{a}$ , and the timbre of Psht.  $\bar{o}$  can be shown to be of a secondary nature.

Corresponding to the  $\bar{o}$  of literary Psht., and of most dialects, we find Afridi  $\bar{\theta}$  or  $\bar{\dot{o}}$  (between  $\bar{o}$  and  $\bar{\theta}$ ), Waz.  $\bar{\theta}$ , and Bannuchi  $\bar{e}$ , and corresponding to  $\bar{a}$  we find Afr.  $\bar{a}$ , Waz. and Bann.  $\bar{o}$ . Instead of lit. Psht.  $a$  other dialects often have  $\bar{a}$  or  $\bar{e}$ . (Afr. *mōr*, *plār*, *lās*, Bann. *mēr*, *plōr*, *las*).

If we start from  $\bar{a}$ ,  $a$ , the transition of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{o}$  is easily explained, and has many parallels. Nor does the lengthening of  $a$  in certain positions lead to any difficulties. Especially in languages where original  $\bar{a}$  has moved towards  $\bar{o}$  this secondary lengthening can take place without disturbing the system, and both in Shgh. and Par. we find  $\bar{a} < a$  besides  $\hat{a}$ ,  $\bar{a} < \hat{a}$ . Similarly the further development of  $\bar{o}$  to  $\bar{\theta}$ , and with dilabialization to  $\bar{e}$  (in the same dialects where  $\bar{u}$  becomes  $\bar{i}$ ) can be understood, as well as the renewed lengthening of  $a$ .

If, on the other hand, we try to explain the different forms as due to an original  $\bar{o}$ ,  $o$ , we are bound to presume that,  $\bar{o}$  being preserved in literary Psht.,  $o$  developed into  $a$  and  $\bar{a}$  according to the accent. Then in Afr. and Waz. this  $\bar{a}$  was again lowered down and rounded to  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ . Evidently this is the more complicated explanation.

I may add that Psht.  $a$  is nearer to the normal "continental"  $a$ , than to the English  $u$  with which it is generally compared.

## SHUGHNI.

The materials collected about Shughni do not call for remarks of a general nature. They were obtained from persons talking somewhat diverging dialects, partly from *Bāṣā'r* near Kala bar Panj, on the Afghan side of Amu Darya, and partly from different places on its eastern tributary, the Ghund river, in Russian territory, or, as one of the men expressed it "in your country" (*da zamīn-e-šimā, na da zamīn-e-Musulmān*). The language is called *Sə'γnī*, or also *Xə'znī*.

It may be noticed that *p* and *k*, but apparently not *t*, are, at any rate in Bashar, often strongly aspirated, e. g. *phīnts* "5", *phūrg* "mouse", *k'hāl* "head", *k'hīc* "belly". In the Ghund dialect we find *vδ*, not *vd* < *ft*, e. g. in *ūvδ* "7".

After an *u*, *ṣ* and *ṣ* are pronounced with a marked rounding of the lips. Two frictions are heard simultaneously, one of *ṣ*, *ṣ*, and one of *φ*, *w*; e. g. *gūṣφt* "meat", *γūṣ<sup>w</sup>* "ear". In LSI. *uṣφyār* "sensible" is written *ūfyār*, and *mūṣ<sup>w</sup>jat* "was dead" *mūvjat*. Probably the word which I have written *ūw<sup>j</sup>* "kidney", is also pronounced with *ṣ<sup>w</sup>*, and must be derived from *\*vṛtka-*, as *cūṣ<sup>w</sup>j* "made" from *\*kṛt(a)ka-*.

## ORMURI.

The dialect of Ormuri (*Ōrmurī*) which is spoken in Waziristan near Kaniguram (*Kānigrā'm*) is known through Sir George Grierson's excellent analysis of Ghulam Muhammad Khan's *Qawāid-i-Bargistā* (LSI., Vol. X and Mem. ASB., VII, 1). The Logar dialect had only been treated in a short vocabulary (Leech JASB., VII, pp. 727 ff., and copied by Raverty, JASB., XXXIII, 267 ff.).

In Kabul I was told by people who knew the Logar valley well that Ormuri was no longer spoken in Baraki Barak, the ancient headquarters of the Ormur tribe. Even a man said to be from this actual village denied the existence of any special language in his native place. But finally, after considerable difficulties, I got hold of



an old man from Baraki Barak, who was said to be one of the few persons still speaking pureOrmuri. He worked with me for about a week, but could not be induced to stay longer away from his home. At that time the rebel tribes had invaded the Logar valley, and it was impossible for me to proceed to Baraki Barak. I also met in Kabul men of the younger generation from Baraki Barak who knew a little of their ancient language. But it is apparently being rapidly superseded by Pers. and Psht., and even the pronunciation of Orm. words has been influenced by Psht. E.g. the old man still said *zli* "heart", but the young ones *zri*.

At Butkhak people said they belonged to the Ormur tribe; but they were all Pashto-speaking, and I met with no one there who knew any Orm.

I did not hear anything about Ormurs living in Ghorband, Bamian or Kunduz<sup>1</sup>. There were said to be Ormurs near Peshawar, but all Pashto-speaking (cf. LSI., p. 123).

My informant, Din Muhammad, did not know the name "Bargistā" of his own language. But according to him the Ormur tribe are descended from the two brothers *Mir-i-Barak* and *Mir-i-Barakāt*, who came from *Baryaman* (Yemen) into Turkestan, the former being buried in *Anxōi* (Andkhui) and the latter in Mazar-i-Sharif. *Mir Yūzūf* was the son of Mir-i-Barakat. He also said that the Ormurs were Sayyids.

I do not think these traditions are much more valuable than those which make the Pathans Israelites, the Baloches Syrians, the Özbin Pashais Quraishis, the Chitralis descendants of Alexander's deported prisoners, the Bashgalis the poorer brethren of the Englishmen, the Kunar tribes Germans (due to a confusion between Pers. *nīmca* "Germany", and *nīmca* "newly converted Kafir"?), or the Gurkhas and Burmese Hazaras. Nor is the tradition rendered more credible by being connected with Mahmud Ghaznavi (Leech l. c., and Elphinstone, Caubul, I, p. 411).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bellew: An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan, p. 62.

Solomon, Alexander, Ali, and Mahmud are the four historical personages to whom the popular fancy generally attributes all important events of the past. The tradition about the Ormurs being descended from the Kurds, mentioned by Elphinstone (l. c.), cannot be identified with the one which makes them Arabs from Yemen, and cannot be upheld without the support of linguistic facts, a question which will be discussed below.

On the other hand Bellew (Journal of a Mission to Afghanistan, p. 63 f.) mentions a tradition, according to which the Orakzai, Afridi, Mangal, Waziri, Khatak, Khogiani tribes of the Pathans are of Ormuri origin. Bellew also mentions that the Ormurs were described as having been fire-worshippers, and as observing peculiar religious ceremonies. Once a week they congregated for worship, men and women together, and at the conclusion of their devotions the priest extinguished the fire they worshipped, and at the same time exclaimed "*Or mur*", meaning in Psht. "dead, extinct fire" (*ōr mər*).

This fanciful etymology cannot, of course, be accepted. In fact, if, as I hope to demonstrate, the Ormurs represent the remnants of the original Iranian population of the country, and if, as stated in the LSI., p. 123 the word *ōrmur* was at least originally used only by their Pathan neighbours, it might be derived from *\*āryamṛtya-* "Aryan man", which would regularly result in *ōrmur* according to Psht. phonetical laws. In that case we must suppose that the real Orm. form which we should expect to be something like *\*ārmul*, had been superseded by the form which the word had taken among their more powerful neighbours, the Pathans. It does not seem impossible that *\*āryamṛtya-* might be used as a designation of an Aryan tribe, cf. the name which the Finno-Ugrian Wotjaks use about themselves: *urt-murt* (< *\*ṛta-mṛtya* "true men", v. Jacobsohn, *Iranier und Ugrofinnen*, pp. 193 ff.).

What is told about the extinguishing of the lamps, reminds us of the slanders told by their neighbours about the disreputable festivals of Yezidis, Druses and other



sects of Western Asia. But there may be this nucleus of truth in the tradition, that the Ormurs have kept their old Iranian religion for a comparatively long time.

In this connection may be mentioned that the Orm. word for "to read" *hīštak*, part. pret. f. *hīšk*<sup>1</sup>, 1 sg. pres. *hav<sup>a</sup>m*, 2 sg. *vīv* etc., is derived from Av. *aiwi-ah-* "to study, read", part. pret. *\*aiwi-šta-*. But the detailed demonstration of the phonetical relation between the Av. and the Orm. words must be reserved for the fuller account of Orm. which I intend to give. It is interesting to note that this word, which has been preserved only in Orm., is a technical term of Zoroastrian theology.

The Logar dialect of Orm. contains several old words not found in the Kaniguram dialect. Regarding phonetics, the chief difference between the two dialects is, that in Logar *š* has been preserved in many cases where it has become *s* in Kaniguram, e. g. Log. *γvāšī* "grass", Kan. *γvāsī*. On the other hand the Logar dialect has given up the distinction between *ṣ* and *ṣʳ*, e. g. Kan. *ṣʳē* "3", *ṣʳh* "6", but Log. *ṣ̄*, *ṣ̄ū*. Kan. *sūṣʳ* "red" has been assimilated to Log. *š̄ūš̄*. This process seems to be quite recent, as Leech, whose vocabulary is based on the Log. dialect, has "*sūgha*" (Leech employs *gh* to denote *ṣ* in "*ūgh*" "camel": *ūṣ*, and in *gha* "night": *ṣ̄ō*).

The complicated formation of verbal stems has been considerably simplified in the Log. dialect, and in many verbs all forms come from one stem only. While the

<sup>1</sup> *hīštak* < *\*aiwi-štáka-*, *hīšk* < *\*aiwí-štakā-*. Cf. *hatak* "to abandon" < *\*hyštáka-*, f. *hōtk* < *hy'štakā-*; *byēk* „to give" < *\*baxtáka-*, f. *bayak* < *\*báxtakā-*; *dūṣyēk* "to milk" < *daušatáka-*, f. *dūk* < *\*dūšk* (as *vyūk* "dry" < *huška*) < *\*daušatakā-*, *dūsak* < *\*daušátakā-*.

*amaravēk* } "to cause  
*amarayēk* } to hear" < *\*ā-hmarapatáka-* f. *amaravak* < *\*ā-hmarapátakā-* (but *amarayak* formed on the analogy of *amarayēk*) etc.

I cannot here enter further into the question of the complicated effects of the accent in Orm. Here, no more than in Psht., Meillet's and Gauthiot's theory about the Ir. accentuation explains the whole situation.

Kan. dialect is full of Waziri Psht. words, the Log. dialect has chiefly adopted Pers. loan-words.

The main questions regarding the Orm. language and its relation to other Ir. tongues, will be more conveniently discussed in connection with Parachi.

## PARACHI.

Parachi (*Parācī*) is at present spoken in the Hindu Kush valley of Shutul, north-east of Charikar, in Ghujulan in Nijrau and in Pachaghan. There is a tradition that the people of Shutul came from Tagau some generations ago; but on the other hand it is also said, perhaps not without some foundation in fact, that Panjshir was formerly inhabited by Parachis. The Farāšī tribe is also mentioned as living in the vicinity of Parwan, which is quite near to Shutul, in the 16th century (Marquardt, *Erānšahr*, p. 287). The tribe is mentioned by Babur (transl. Leyden and Erskine, ed. King, I, p. 224 f.) as having a separate language, by Elphinstone (*Caubul*, I, p. 413) as "the Puraunchehs, another class of Hindkees", and Masson (*Travels in Baluchistan etc.*) mentions "Paraunchi" as a language which is spoken by a few families in and near Panjshir.

Sir George Grierson (note to Babur l. c.) explains the name as "Prāchī", "Eastern", denoting a language of Eastern India brought to Kabul through the Purbyas. Now that we know the Parachi language to be Ir., it seems better to derive it from Skr. *parācī*-, f. of *parāñc*- "averted, distant, outside of", the gender being determined through one of the feminine words for "language". *parāñc*- might easily mean "western" just as *pratyañc*-, even if the word is not found in this sense in Skr., and would be a very suitable name for the Pashais and other Indians to give to their nearest Iranian neighbours. It is also possible that the name may be connected with Psht. *parā(n)ca* "a mercer, draper, cloth-merchant", Waziri *parāca*, *parōca* "a Hindu convert to Muhammedanism", "name of

a caste", a word which may originally have denoted some pre-Pathan community.

In the Paghman district, some fifteen miles west of Kabul, there is a village called Parachi, which has possibly preserved the name of its former inhabitants. We shall consider below the linguistic evidence which points to a wider extension of Parachi in ancient times.

It has not been possible to ascertain the number of Parachi-speaking people. One informant asserted that only about one hundred persons used this language, another calculated that there was that number of Par. houses in Shutul. A third man said that his tribe inhabited 400 houses in Shutul, and 600 in Nijrau and Tagau, and a man from Ghujulan supposed that there were one hundred Par. families there.

I first heard of Par. being still spoken from a Satha-Pashai, who said that in this language "I eat bread" was called *naṣṇ xareman*, and "I drink water" *au tēreman*. This information made it clear that I was on the track of an unknown Ir. language, and *tēreman* was reminiscent of Orm. *trīm*. After some difficulties, including an attempt made by an old rogue to impose the north-western dialect of Pash. upon me as Par., I succeeded in getting hold of Mahmud Ghani from Shutul, "a shepherd of considerable stupidity" (to quote Sir G. Grierson's words about the Pras. informant of the LSI.).

In the autumn of 1924 I worked with Ghulam Maheuddin and the local poet Tabakkal Shah, who came to Kabul with the recruits collected from the Kohistan of Kabul. They were also from Shutul, and were both of them intelligent, and very keen on teaching me their mother-tongue. They could read and write Pers., and even tried to write down songs in Par. It was valuable to be able to compare my own phonetic notation of their narratives with the written texts. They said that one book written in Par., and containing legends about Ali, existed in Shutul; but it was impossible to get hold of this specimen of Par. literature.



In Kabul I also worked for a few days with a man from Ghujulan in Darra-i-Ghosh in Nijrau, who spoke a somewhat different dialect, and for a short time in Peshawar with a Pachaghani. The dialectal difference is not great. In Shutul we find *â*, *ã*, where the other dialect has *ā*.

As Par. is not previously known, I shall preface the discussion of its linguistic position with a summary review of the chief phonetic features of the language.

Generally speaking the vowels have been well preserved, and have not been influenced by the accent to the same extent as in most of the neighbouring Ir. languages. We find *i*-umlaut in words like *mēhī* "month" < \**māhya*-; *mēn* "middle, waist" < \**madhyana*-, *mēr* "man" < \**martya*-, *mēr*- "to kill" < \**māraya*-, *mer*- "to die" < \**mrya*-, *xēr* "hay" < \**xvarya*-, *kēr* "work" < \**kārya*-.  
 A short, accentuated *a* becomes *ō*: *jō* "killed" < *jata*-, *sō* "100" < *sata*-, *sōr* "head" < *sarah*-, *sahōk* "hare" < *saha-ka*-, *naṣōn* "bread": Bal. *nagan* etc.

*ū* becomes *ī*: *dhī* "smoke" < \**dūta*-, *nī* "to-day" < \**nū*.  
*au* becomes *ū*: *gū* "ear" < \**gauša*-, *gū* "cow" < \**gau*, *rūc* "day" < \**raucah*-, but *ī* before *n*: *rhīnē* "light" < \**rauxšna*-.  
*ava* becomes *ō*: *nō* "9", "new" < *nava*-, *žō* "barley" < *yava*-, *cōr* "4" < \**cavar*- < *caḍwar*-.

In the same way *ai* becomes *ī*: *īx* "ice" < \**aixa*-, *γī* "willow" < \**vaiti*-, *hī* "bridge" < \**haitu*-, *aya* or *āya* becomes *ē*: *sēγ* "shade" < \**sāyakā*-, *pē* "milk" < *payah*-, *ēx* "egg" < \**ā(v)yaxa*- (or *-aka*-).

Like the Western Ir. languages, Par. has initial voiced stops, and not spirants, e. g. *gū* "cow, ear", *gīnō* "hair" < \**gauna*-, *gir* "stone" < \**gṛri*-, *danān* "tooth" < *dantan*-, *dūc*- "to milk" < \**dauc*-, *bī* "he was" < *būta*-, *bōst* "bound" < *basta*-, *jan*- "to kill", *jīnc* "wife" < *jani*-, *jīr* "bow-string", Av. *jyā*-.

Intervocalic *k*, *g* become *γ*: *spaγ* "dog" < *spaka*-, *maγas* "fly", cf. Phl. *makas*, *āγun*- "to dress" < \**ā-gund*-, *žūγ* "yoke" < \**yauga*-. *-c* is preserved: *pēc*- "to cook" < *pacya*-, *sīcīn* "needle", cf. Bal. *sūcīn*. We find *-x* in *ēx* "egg", *īx* "ice", *mux* "face", *γīx* "root", cf. Pers. *bēx*.

Intervocalic *t*, *d* are lost: *mâ* „mother” < *mātā*, *tī* „mulberry”, cf. Pers. *tūt*, *sunâ* „washed” < *snāta-*, *pâ* „foot” < *pāda-*, *dvâs* „12” < *dvādasa-*. -*p*-, -*b*- are represented by -*v*-: *xovân* „shepherd” < \**fšū-pāna-*, *xavân* „night” < *xšapan-*, *âvur* „he brought”, cf. Pers. *āvurd* (but *ârī* „he brings”, Pers. *ārad*).

*y*- becomes *ž*-: *žū* „1”, cf. Psht. *yau*, Minj. *yū*; *žī* „irrigation canal”, Anc. Pers. *yauviyā-*; *žūγ* „yoke”.

*v*- becomes *γ*-: *γurγ* „wolf” < *vṛka-*, *γan* „oak” < *vanā-*, *γasō* „calf” < *vatsa-*, *vi-* has resulted in *γu*-: *γus* „house” < *vis-*, *γušt* „20” < \**visati*, *γun-* „to find” < \**vind-*, *γurz-ēv* „to pour out” < \**vi-hṛz*, *γīrân* „desolate” is probably borr. from Pers. *vērān* < Pehl. *apērān*. Internal -*v*- has been lost in *rhâz-* „to fly” < *frā-vaz-*, *parīc-* „to shake a sieve” < \**parīvic-*, cf. Shgh. *parwīz-*.

(*x*)*š* and *xv* become *x*: *xīrō* „sweet”, cf. Pers. *šīrīn*; *xavân* „night”, *xovân* „shepherd”, *xī* „6” < *xšaš*(?), *γax* „voice” < *vaxša-*; *xar-* „to eat” < *xvar-*, *xōm* „sleep” < *xvafna-*, *xu* „self” < *xva-*, *xī* „sister” < *xvahā*(?).

Postvocalic *š* is lost: *xī* „6”, *gū* „ear, ‘spō „louse” < *spiš-*.

*h* is preserved both as an initial and internally: *hōt* „7” < *hafta-*, *hošku* „dry” < *huška-*, *mahōk* „moon” < *mah-*, *nhīn-*, *nhašt* „to sit” < \**ni-had-*.

Regarding the treatment of groups of consonants only a few important instances need be mentioned here.

*nt*, *nd* become *n*: *panân* „road” (Av. *panti-*, acc. sg. *pantānəm*), *γun-* „to find”, *âγun-* „to dress”, *janō* „living” (cf. Pers. *zinda*, Kashan *jandā*).

*st* remains in some cases: *bōst* „bound”, *âγust* „dressed”, *rust* „high” (Pers. *rustan* „to grow”), but becomes *št* in the vicinity of an ancient *i* in *γušt* „20”, „thrown”, *nhašt* „he sat”.

*xt* and *ft* become *t*: *dut* „daughter”, *pharât-* „to sell” (< \**para-vaxta-*), *hōt* „7”, *rūt* „swept” (Pers. *ruftan*), and the same is the case with *rx**t*, *rft*: *mât* „killed” (< \**marxta-*, Av. *marək-*), *hōt* „heard” (< \**harfta-*), *ghīt* „seized” (< \**grfta-*).

*ršt* results in *t* in *pōt* (Av. *paršti-*). Of *nēr-* „to take out”, and *hupēr* „to dig” (a Pash. loan-word) with *r* < *rd*, *rt*,

the past forms are *nōt*, *hupōt*; but these may be secondary formations. *ut* "bear" is difficult to explain, we cannot well consider it to be an Ir. \**ršta*-. In other cases like *dhōr* "seen" (< \**duhr* < *dṛšta*-), *nhomur* "forgetful" (< \**ni-mṛšta*-), *thōr* "he drank" (< \**tṛšta*-, cf. Orm. *tatak*), *thōr* "hole", *târ* "to bore", cf. Skr. *trd*-, *ršt* seems to have resulted in \**hr*, *h-r*.

*rt* and *rd* become *r*: *mur* "dead" (Av. *mərēta*-), *bur* "carried" (Av. *bərēta*-), *vârun* "flour" (Av. *aša*-, Pers. *ārd*), *γurōk* "small child" (Pashto *vrūkai*), *zur* "heart" (Av. *zərēd*-), *sâr* "year" (Av. *sarēd*-), *parâsur* "last year" (Skr. *parut*-, Wakhi *pard*). *marō* "soft" (Skr. *mṛdu*-).

In *kan* "to do" *rn* has become *n*, as in most Iranian languages. But cf. *šuyur* "porcupine" (Av. *sukuruna*-, Pashto *škūr*, Pers. *sugur*).

In *šn* and similar combinations *š* is lost, but the initial consonant of the word is aspirated, e. g. *thâna* "thirsty" (Av. *taršna*-), *rhîne* "sun, light" (Av. *raoxšna*-).

*θr* becomes *š* in *šî* "3" (Av. *θrayō*), *puš* "son" (Av. *puθra*-), *dēš* "scythe" (Skr. *dātra*-, Pers. *dās*), *cašōrōts* (Nijrau dial.) "three days ago" (Av. *caθru*-), cf. also *šicak* "female" (Av. *stri*-, Pashto *šedza*), *bâš* "rope" (< \**bastra*-, Pashto *vâš*). (Cf. Sängsari *puš-är* "father", *šæ* "3").

*fr* becomes *rh* in *rhaγām* "spring (season)" (< \**fragāma*-, cf. Pashto *varγūmai* "a kid", Yidg. *firγāmo*), and in *rhâz* "to fly" (\**fra-vaz*-). In *ruc* "flea" (\**fruc*-) I heard no aspiration. *-fr* becomes *-rp* in *γarp* "snow".

*xr* is only found in *surkhū* "red" (Av. *suxra*-) and *tarkū* "bitter" (Pehl. *taxr*).

The only instance of the treatment of *gr*-, *γr*- is the loan-word *rhuš* "half rupee" (Turk. *γ(u)ruš* "piastre", "Groschen"). *biyā* "brother" has probably been influenced by Afghan Persian *biyādar*.

As will have been observed, Par. phonetics possess one very characteristic feature, viz. the aspiration of occlusives under certain conditions. The details are not always easy to explain, and the aspiration does not appear in all cases where we should expect it; but it seems clear



that the aspiration is developed when a spirantic element is lost in a group of consonants, and is generally thrown back on the initial. Cf. *pēc*- "to cook", *phōk* "he cooked" (< \**paxva*-, Pashto *pōx*), *gur*- "to seize", *ghīt* "he seized" (< \**gr̥fta*-), *thâ*- "to cut" (Av. *taš*-), *lhanō* "mooth, slippery" (Pers. *laxšīdan* "to slip", Skr. *ślakṣṇa*- < *slakṣṇa*-), and the words mentioned above: *pharât*- "to sell", *dhōr* "he saw", *rhinë* "sun", *thâna* "thirsty". In *dhī* "smoke" (< \**dū̃δ* < Av. *dūta*-), *chī* "he went" (< \**cū̃δ* < \**ciyuta*-), *dhai*- "to give" (Av. *daḍa*-), *phyō* "wet" (< *pīδ*- < Skr. *pīta*-) the voiced dental spirant has caused the aspiration. But cf. *dut* "daughter" < \**duxtā*, *bī* "he became" < *būta*-. In loan-words we find a similar development: *khar* "anger" < Pers. *qahr*, *mhēmān* "guest" < Pers. *mehmān*.

With this transposition of the spirantic element we may compare Yazg. *ʃən* "fire" < \**tafna*- (Gauthiot, JA., 1916, p. 253) and parallel developments in other Pamir languages and Sak. (e. g. *thatau* "quickly" < \**taxtakam*, v. also Reichelt, Indogerm. Jahrbuch, I). But when the result in Par. is an aspirate and not a spirant, it is certainly due to Pash. influence<sup>1</sup>.

Also the initial aspirate in *khan*- "to laugh" (Pers. *xandīdan*) seems to be due to Pash. influence. Another example is *khōr* "donkey", which may, however, be a Pash. loan-word. Probably Par., as most other Ir. languages, had originally *x*-, just as it has *-x*- in *mux* etc. In *surkh* "red" also the *kh* is secondary, as *kr* could not directly become *khr*, *rkh*, but must have passed through the stages *xr*, *rx*.

As a matter of course Pash. loan-words have kept their aspiration; indeed the aspiration is stronger and more audible in Par. *dhâr* "mountain" than in Pash. *dhār*. We even find aspiration in Par. in cases where it has been lost in Pash., e. g. in *dhârî* "beard", Pash. *dârî* < *dâhrî*. But also in other respects Pash. seems to have influenced Par.

<sup>1</sup> A similar transposition is occasionally found also in Ind. languages, Dard and others. Cf. e. g. Maharashtri *ghëttum* "to seize" < \**ghr̥ptum* < \**gr̥bh*-.

The transition  $y < \check{z}$  also reminds us of Pash., and the development from  $\check{s}$ - to  $x$ -, while  $\check{s}t$  remains, agrees with north-western Pash. (Par.  $\check{z}\bar{o}$  "barley",  $x\bar{i}$  "6",  $\bar{o}\check{s}t$  "8", Kohnadeh Pash.  $\check{z}\bar{u}i$ ,  $x\bar{a}$ ,  $a\check{s}ta$ ). Further the treatment of intervocalic occlusives is the same as in Pash. (loss of dentals, preservation of  $c$ , transition of  $p$ ,  $b$  to  $v$ ), but different from that found in any other Ir. language.

The morphological systems of the two languages are very similar. It is only necessary to mention a few striking instances here. The opposition between Par.  $s\bar{i}$  "it is" (inanimate),  $h\bar{a}$ ,  $a$  "it, he, she is" (animate), corresponds to that between Pash.  $\check{s}\bar{i}$  and  $(h)a$ . In Par., as in north-western Pash., the definite present is formed with  $t$ , e. g. Par. *davētū hem* "I am running", Pash. *davetim*, Par. *kantū* "he is doing", Pash. *katū*, Par. *jantū* "he is killing", Pash. *hantū*. Cf. also the Par. affixed *-vanō* "towards" with Pash. *-vān*. In these cases also Par. has certainly borrowed from Pash.

The number of Pash. loan-words in Par. is large. The following are only a few of them:

*būru* "deaf": Pash. (Laur.) *borā*; *devās* "day": Pash. (Laur.) *duvās*; *hengas* "neighing": Pash. (Kohnadeh) *hingas*; *khurī* "heel": Pash. (Kohn.) *khurī*; *kəttə* "lame": Pash. (Laur.) *kuṭa*; *māvul* "mother's brother": Pash. (Kohn.) *maulū*; *papō lung*: Pash. (Laur.) *papū*; *phōr* "grain": Pash. (Laur.) *phāl*; *šāp* "curse": Pash. (Laur.) *šāp*; *šor* "stair": Pash. (Laur.) *šūr* (cf. Hindi *sīrhī*, Kashm. *her*), *tārānī* "wild rose": Pash. (Laur.) *tāranī*; *uc* "bear": Pash. (Özbin) *ōc*, *vāš* "rain": Pash. (East) *vāš*.

In some cases the Par. words are borrowed from older forms of Pash. E. g. *dhārī* "beard": Pash. *dārī*, *livōn* "ghee": Pash. (Laur.) *lōu*, Waig. *gravū*, *grāva* ( $< ghṛta$ -*vat*-). Words like *māneš* "man", *āγēš* "sky" (Shina *agaī*), *vīl* "time, while", *rahō* "rice", *šund* "lip, mouth" are probably also of Pash. origin, even if the words are not found in my Pash. materials and are probably not used in Pash. any more.

Some words remind us of Lhd. and the languages



of the Indian plains and may have been, either directly or indirectly, borrowed from there. E. g. *hāt*, *hadd* "bone": Lhd. *hadd*, but Pash. *aṭha*; *maṭṭa* "dirt, mud": Lhd. *maṭ* "alluvial deposit", Psht. *maṭṭa* "clay, but Pash. (Özb.) *mâṭṛ* "clay" (< Skr. *mārttika*-?); *dērāk* "grape": Lhd. *drākh*, but Pash. (Kohn.) *dāṣka*; *catō* "white", Lhd. *ciṭṭā*.

Indian, but of unknown origin, are *bānō* "arrow": Skr. *bāṇa*-; *buch*- "to see": Panj. *vekh*-, Kashm. *wuc*-, Ti-rahi *bīc*-. Moreover words like *dharam* "earth", and many others, appear to be Indian.

A very interesting word is *kānō* "blind". In Pash., Torwalak, Kashm., and in the languages of the plains some derivative of Skr. *andha*- is used for "blind", and Lhd. *kārā*, Kashm. *kôn* means "one-eyed", just as Skr. *kāṇa*-. In Waig., GB., Garwi and Shina we find words which probably are derived from Skr. \**śīrta*-, cf. *śīrṇa*- "broken, injured" (used about parts of the body: °*danta*-, °*pāda*-, °*śīrṣan*-), e. g. Waig *ṣere*, Garwi *šāhr*, Shina *ṣevo* (< \**śrīta*-). But Khow. *kāṇu*, Kati *kār*', Ashk. *kārā* denote "blind". Now it is very improbable that *kāṇa*- has ever been in use in the sense of "blind" in Pash. which has preserved *andha*-. Accordingly we must conclude that the Par. word has been borrowed from Western Kafiri or Khow. At present Pash. is the only Ind. language with which Par. is in touch; but probably the Pash. expansion, which has encircled the Parachis of Nijrau and Tagau, is of comparatively late date, and the Par. have formerly bordered upon the Kafirs in Panjshir or Kohistan. The dental *n* in *kānō* may also, as in *bānō*, be a sign that the word was borr. at a time when Par. had not yet been sufficiently subjected to Ind. influence to adopt the cerebral sounds.

In the light of this word we may also mention Par. *dhamā* "wind": Waig. *damō*, Ashk. *domō*; Par. *vāṣar* "dance": Waig. *vegār* "play". Between Par. *bumburū* "thunder" and Khow. *bumburēš*, *būmburuš* the similarity is too striking to be accidental, although it is generally dangerous to draw conclusions from such onomatopoeic words.

On the other hand, there are also traces of Par. influence upon Kafiri. Waig. *zaḡa*, Ashk. *zagā*, *zagə* "son" must be borr. from Par. *zāḡa*. Are also Waig. *vašīp*, *išpī* "buttermilk" borr. from Par. *vaspē*, which seems to contain Par. *pē* "milk"? Also in Pash. we find a few words which may be of Par. origin. Par. *gur-* (*gurum*, *ghītom*) means "to seize", and the formation of the stem shows that it is a true Ir. word (*gur-* < \**gr̥ba-*, cf. Minj. *ḡərv-*). Now in Pash. we also find *gur-* "to seize", which cannot be derived from Skr. *gra(b)h-*, *gr̥b(h)ṇā-*. The genuine Pash. form is perhaps found in a verb which means "to learn": *lein-*, *leihen-* < \**grihṇ-* < *gr̥hṇ-* (*hārya sabāx né leīngā hāī'c* "he had not learnt the lesson by heart", *hāryäi sabāx leihentic?* "have you learnt the lesson by heart?").

It is also possible that the root *par-* "to go", used only in the present stem both in Par. and Pash., may be of Ir. origin, cf. Waziri Psht. *parēdəl* "to run". Is also Pash. *har-* "to hear" borr. from Par. *harv-*?

At any rate it is clear that the connection between Par. and the neighbouring Ind. languages is of no recent date, and this fact is of importance when we try to define the position of Par. within the whole range of Ir. languages.

Before doing so, we have to peel off a thick layer of Pers. loan-words. But generally these are easily recognizable, even when they have been adapted by popular etymology, as *khōrəbuḡ* "melon" ("donkey-goat"! < Pers. *xarbūza*), or *khōrəgū* "hare" < Pers. *xargōš*, besides which we also find the original Par. *sahōk* and the recent loan-word *xargōš*.

With Orm. Par. shares the development of *v* > *γ(w)*. There is also a resemblance between the development of *ḡr* in Par. *š*, Orm. *ḡ*, *ḡ*. But in Orm. a similar change has also affected *fr* (*ḡ'amōt* "forgetful" < \**framṛšta-*, Log. *ḡōš* "snow" < *vafra-*), and *xr* (*ḡ'iyēk* "to buy" < *xrī-*, *sūḡ* "red" < *suxra-*). The initial stage of this development is perhaps found in AΘĒO = *aḡšo* 'fire' < *aḡro* on Indo-Scythian coins. Cf. also the development of *ršt*

in Orm. into *t* (*pat* "back" < *pr̥šti-*), and, at least in certain circumstances into Par. *t̥* (*pōt̥* "back").

The morphology of the two languages is rather different. This is only what we should expect, as they probably separated before the break down of the old Ir. inflectional system, and the building-up of a new one.

The vocabulary however presents many points of agreement. I shall mention only a few striking examples: Par. *andarf-* "to sew": Orm. *undərəv-*, cf. Wakhi *drəw-*,

Skr. *ḍrbh-*;

Par. *rū* "iron": Orm. *rō*, Skr. *loha-* also "iron", but Pers. *rōi*, Bal. *rōd* etc. only "copper";

Par. *dherz-* "to load, put on one's back": Orm. *daṣ-* "to load", cf. Psht. *lēṣəl* "to load", *lēṣdəl* "to send", but Av. *darəz-* "to fasten";

Par. *nēr-*, *nōt̥-* "to take out"<sup>1</sup>: Orm. *navar-*, *naval<sup>a</sup>k*.

Par. *tēr-*, *thōṭ-* "to drink": Orm. *tr-*, *tatak*. In both languages the present stem is *\*tṛ-*, but the past *tṛš-t*. *tṛš-*, "to be dry, thirsty" could easily acquire the meaning "to drink"; but *tṛ-* I cannot explain<sup>2</sup>.

Par. *zəmā* "winter": Orm. *zemāk*, but e. g. Psht. *žimai*, Oss. *zimäg*.

We may also note

Par. *gap-âr* "fireplace" (*âr* "fire"): Orm. *gap* "stone".

Par. *mindut* "apricot": Orm. *matat*.

But these words have not the appearance of being old inherited words.

If Par. and Orm. are, as it appears, nearly related, the question as to whether they belong to the eastern or western group of Ir. languages must be treated as one connected problem.

We have seen that the Ormuris possess traditions concerning a western origin, which, however, do not seem

<sup>1</sup> From *\*ni-bar-*. The present stem was changed into *\*ni-var-* > *nēr-* through the influence of the past part. *\*ni-byta-* > *\*nivur-*. Then a secondary past part. was formed: *\*nivur-t* > *nōt̥*.

<sup>2</sup> I also heard Par. *thēr-*, which may be derived from *\*tṛš-*, just as *kher-ēv-* "to pick up" from *kṛš-*. But the Orm. form can hardly be explained in this way.



to be of great value. About the Parachis no such legends are known, and the close connection between their language and Pash. shows that the tribe has been long settled in the country, even if we cannot accept Yule's identification of Hiuen Tsang's *Foh-lih-ši-sa-t'ang-na* (acc. to Karlgren the ancient pronunciation was *b'iuət-liět-zi-sât-t'ân-nâ*) with *\*Parācīstān*.

In both languages there are certainly some linguistic traits which point westward. We may mention the loss of intervocalic dentals, the transition of *nt*, *nd* into *n* which are also found in Mazandarani, to some extent in Kurdish and other north-western dialects. Par. and Orm. also agree with the western Ir. languages in treating initial and medial *ʒr* in the same way. In most of the eastern dialects, apart from the isolated Oss., and from W. where *ʒr* in both positions becomes *tr*, we find a different treatment of *ʒr*- and *-ʒr*-, e. g. Psht. *dr*-, *-r*-, Shgh. *har*-, *-ts*-.

The Par. present stem *nhīn*- "to sit" also approaches the western forms with *n*; and the strange Orm. word *hanvalk* (Log. *vulk*) "egg" (< *\*avyalaka*?) is reminiscent of Kurd. *helka* etc., Awromani *hēlä*.

Both Par. and Orm. have initial voiced stops and not spirants. This is usually considered to be one of the chief points of distinction between western and eastern Ir. languages. But, apart from Psht., all the eastern Ir. languages are spoken north of the Hindu Kush, and we shall see that several indications render it probable that Psht. was originally brought from the north. In that case there is no reason to suppose that initial voiced spirants belonged to the original eastern dialects south of the Hindu Kush, contiguous to the Ind. languages which possess no spirants at all. And, with the possible exception of the two dialects in question, the ancient Ir. languages of south-eastern Iran have all died out, without leaving any trace. Nothing is known about the ancient language of Bactria, or of Herat — the so-called Herawi of Ansari (Iwanow JRAS., 1923, pp. 1 ff.) is only a Persian

dialect — or of the country now inhabited by Hazaras and Aimaks. Our complete ignorance of the ancient linguistic conditions in the greater part of Afghanistan warns us to be very careful in trying to determine the home of the Avestan language.

Dr. Tedesco in his admirable article (*Monde Oriental*, XV, p. 255 f.) comes to the conclusion that it belongs to Western Iran, and this view has been adopted by Meillet (*Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, p. 26). Not all the features which Tedesco mentions are exclusively western. E. g. if we have Av. *bitya*- "second", N. W. Turfan *biḍiγ*, but Soghd. *δβty*, *b-* is also found in Psht. *bəl*, Orm *bī*, cf. Wakhi *būi* "2". Nor does the fact that Minj. and Yaghn. still preserve the spirant in *γarv-*, *γirīv-* "to seize", prove that the development into *w* in y. Av. *gāurwaya-* cannot have taken place anywhere in the east. Cf. also Par. *gur-* (1 sg. *gurum*).

It is true that the past part. *γmata-* "gone" is not found in the east, and that the *izāfat* seems to be western. But, after all, the *izāfat* is only used occasionally in Av. and had not become an indispensable factor in the morphological system. Not impossibly it may have had a sporadic existence in some eastern dialects, but has disappeared with the general loss of the *ya*-pronoun. And again we must not forget that we can have no idea whatever about the forms used in south-eastern Iran in ancient times<sup>1</sup>. It is also possible, as Prof. Christensen points out (*AO.*, IV, p. 83), that the Medic priests, who are responsible for the final redaction of the Av. text, have introduced some Western Ir. forms and modes of expression.

But the chief point in Tedesco's argument, and one which he promises to treat separately, is the thesis that

<sup>1</sup> Tedesco writes (l. c. p. 221) "Dem Aw. zuliebe eine vorhistorische N-O-Gruppe mit *Izāfat* anzunehmen wäre vorläufig reine Willkür." I think it is more arbitrary to ignore our ignorance, and to try to solve a problem, which the nature of our materials does not permit us to solve. Moreover, we have not only to reckon with a "North-Eastern group".

Ir. *\*-ah*, *\*-āh*, which result in *-ō*, *-ā* in Av., became *-i*, *-ē* in Eastern Ir.<sup>1</sup> Here again we must make the same geographical reservation as above. It is not possible to pronounce a final verdict, excluding Av. from the whole of Eastern Iran, on the evidence of its *-ō*, *-ā*. We must be prepared to meet such surprises as the *b*-, *d*-, *g*- of Orm. and Par., and not forget our ignorance of the old south-eastern dialects<sup>2</sup>.

And, finally, many important points of agreement between Av. and Eastern Ir. remain to be taken into account.

The points of resemblance between Orm. and the western Ir. dialects have induced Grierson to consider Orm. to be of western, Kurdish, origin. But I have tried to demonstrate that these traits, which are also shared by Par., may have belonged to all the originally *south-eastern* Ir. languages. As Gauthiot has pointed out (MSL., XIX, pp. 135 ff.) even Minj., which sides with the north-east in the question of spirants, belongs to an intermediate group, stretching from Kurd. in a narrow belt towards the east.

But if Minj. shows many points of agreement with the real north-eastern languages, this is also the case with Par. and Orm., and to such an extent that any recent immigration of these tribes from the west seems out of the question. Let us first consider Par.

<sup>1</sup> We may notice that *-as* became *-e*, not only in the Eastern Ind. dialects, but also in the extreme north-west of India.

<sup>2</sup> After finishing this report I have received Tedesco's article: "Ostiranische Nominalflexion" (Zeitschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik, 4, pp. 94 ff.). The author has made a strong case of his theory about Eastern Ir. *-i*, *-ē*, so far as Sak. and Soghd. are concerned. In Psht. the situation is complicated. Even if we admit that both the obl. sg. and nom. pl. mask. *tsārbə* "fat" and the nom. sg. fem. *tsarba* are developed from *\*carpā*, it is not possible to derive *ōbə* "water" (nom. pl. f.) from anything but *\*āpah*. *\*āpā* would be an impossible form. The only possible explanation of *ōbə* acc. to Tedesco's theory would be to suppose that *-ah* > *-i* had finally resulted in *-ə*. The only trace of *\*-ah* > *-i* found in Psht., is after *k*, e. g. *sarai* "man" < *\*sarḍyaki* < *\*sarḍyakah* (cf. Av. *sarəidya-* "fellow").

Mention has been made of the Par. development of *rt, rd > r*, which is also found in Psht., and of *str > š*, which has a parallel in several eastern dialects.

In morphology we may note the enclitic pronouns 1 pl. *-an*, 2 pl. *-ō* which should evidently be compared with Zeb. *-en, -ev*, W. and Sar. *-an, -av*. As an independent pronoun we find *vâ* "you", where the *v-* has been preserved in enclitic position.

The causative in *-ēv* also connects Par. with the neighbouring languages, such as Orm., Psht., Minj., Yd., and W. Probably this suffix is of Ind. origin; but its wide distribution, and its absence from most of the modern Dard languages, show that the loan cannot be of recent date.

The vocabulary of Par. is essentially Eastern Ir., as will be seen from the following examples:

*āyun-* "to dress": Psht. *āyustəl*, etc.

*āmar* "apple": Psht. *māra*, Yd. *amūnah*, etc.

*ištenuk* "kid": Ishk. *štunuk*, Zeb. *šatanak*.

*ūzâ-* "to remain": Yd. *ūzaiyah*, Orm. *ōzuk* "left behind", Oss. *izāyun*, cf. Av. *ava-zā-*.

*bâš* "rope": Orm. *bēš*, Psht. *vāš* etc. < \**bastra-*.

*dūc-* "to milk": W. *ḍīts-*, Shgh. *ḍūdz-*, Oss. *dotun*, but Pers. *dōš-*, etc.

*durī* "large spoon": Khow. *dori*, Waig. *durīk*, Bur. "*dôri*".

The word appears to be Ir. on account of the loan-words in Finno-Ugrian: Wotyak *durī* etc. (Jacobsohn: *Arier u. Ugrofinnen*, p. 209).

*dusara* "kid, two years old": Psht. *dōšaral*.

*dōš* "hair": W. *ḍürs*, Sar. *ḍors*, Shgh. *ḍāšts* "goat's hair".

*dhōr* "saw": Minj. *līšk<sup>v</sup>* < \**dr̥šta-*.

*gīnō* "a single hair": Psht. *γūna*, Ishk. *γēnuk* "hair on the body", etc.

*gir* "stone": W. *γar*, Shgh. *žir*, Yazg. *γrtsok* "stone, rock", but. e. g. Kurd. *girik* "hill".

*γuh-* (*γušt*) "to throw": Psht. *vištəl*, Shgh. *wēḍ-*, Skr. *vyadh-*.

*γurōk* "small (child)": Psht. *rōr*, *vrūkai*.



- yarv-* "to boil": Minj. *ūrvây-*, Shgh. *wūrv-*, Sar. *wârav-*.  
*yušt* "finger": cf. Minj. *aγuškvá*, Yazg. *wašt*.  
*γāzd* "fat": Psht. *vāzda*, cf. Av. *vazdvar-* "firmness" (Skr. transl. *pīvaratva-*), and also Oss. *vāzdan* "nobleman"?  
*hī* "bridge": Shgh. *yēd*, etc.  
*harv-* "to hear": Psht. *arvədəl*, Av. *har-*, *haurva-* "observe".  
*jīnc* "wife": Ishk. *žānj*, Zeb. *wu-jinjak*, Minj. *žinko*.  
*mux* "face": Psht. *max*, etc.  
*naγōn* "bread": Psht. *naγan*, etc.  
*nōrk* "nail": Ishk. *nirxok*, Sangl. *narxax*, "Laghman" *nōrik* (? Tomaschek, Centralas. Stud. p. 785).  
*pē* "milk": Psht. *paī*, Shgh. *pai*, etc.  
*pī* "spade": W. *péi*, etc.  
*panān* "road": Shgh. *pānd*, etc.  
*parīc-* "to shake a sieve": Shgh. *par-wīz-*.  
*parāsur* "last year": W. *pard*.  
*rhīne* "fire": Orm. *rūn*, W. *raxnīγ*, Zeb. *rōšnī*.  
*rhās-* "to fly": Shgh. *ra-wāz*, etc.  
*seγa* "sand": Psht. *šəga*, Minj. *sūg<sup>v</sup>á*, etc., and corresponding words in the Dard languages.  
*sahōk* "hare": Psht. *sōe*, Orm. *sikak*, Sak. *saha-*, etc.  
*sunī* "to wash": Shgh. *zenē-*, Soghd. *snā-*, etc.  
*šicak* "woman": Psht. *šədza*, Zeb. *šec* "female".  
*thī* "to burn": W. *θī-iiw-* (caus.), etc.  
*xēra* "water-mill", Minj. *xīrgá*, etc.  
*zâγa*: "son": Soghd. *zāk*.  
*zām* "son in law": Psht. *zūm* (v. Altir. Wörterb., 1689).  
*zītō* "yellow": Minj. *zīt*.

In the preceding list several Orm. words are included. Among other Eastern Ir. words in Orm. we may mention:

- mērš<sup>r</sup>* "sun": Minj. *mīra*.  
*γvaš<sup>r</sup>av-* (Log. *γuṣav-*) "to wash" < \**vi-frav-*: cf. W. *pūru-*, Yazgh. *fəraw-*.  
*ban-* "to throw down": Psht. *lvan-* (< \**ni-badn-*), Sak. *uys-vān*, acc. to Grierson also W. *biin-* (but *b-*?).



*xvarints*<sup>a</sup> "right (not left)": Soghd. *γw'r'nt*, *xvarant*, Sak.

*hvarandau*, acc. sg. n., *hvaramcaiñä* "on the right hand".  
*hōnd* "blind": Sak. *hana*-.

*sō* (Log. *šē*) "1": Sak. *śśau* (from the Indo-Eur. pronominal stem *\*k<sub>i</sub>o-*, which is probably contained also in Orm. *ts<sup>a</sup>n* (Log. *šān*) "to day").

*sir* (Log. *šir*) "good": Sak. *śśära*-, Soghd. *šir*.

*vōk* (*vav*-) "to obtain": Sak *byau*-, Av. *avi-ap*-.

These last words, and especially *sō* and *xvarints*<sup>a</sup>, are of interest as indicating the possibility of a connection between Orm. and Sak. It is *prima facie* not impossible that Orm. may have borr. some words from the language of the Sakian Kushanas.

But the relation between Orm. and one Eastern Ir. language, viz. Psht., is of a special nature. Orm. possesses a great number of Psht. loan-words; but the connection between the two languages is of a much more fundamental nature, and appears to me to exclude the possibility that the contact dates only from the time of Mahmud of Ghazni.

In the first instance there are several words in the two languages which, although showing a special relationship, have developed phonetically on different lines. It is probable that most of these words are Psht. loan-words in Orm., or have been formed in Orm. under Psht. influence; but the phonetic divergences show that the borrowing must have taken place a long time ago.

E. g. Orm. *maštak*, *maz*- "to break" is connected with an old Psht. verb, of which *māt* "broken" is the only remaining form (cf. Minj. *maz*-, Yd. *maš*- "to kill", Skr. *mac*- "to grind, pound"?). Orm. *γvāštak* (*γvaz*-) "to fall" corresponds to Psht. *prēvatəl* (*-ūz*-). The connection between the Orm. and the Psht. words must date from before the Psht. transition *št* > *t*.

Orm *γ(v)* for Psht. *v* we find also in *γark* "lost": Psht. *vruk*, Waz. *wark*, and in Orm. *γvāsi* (Log. *γvāši*) "grass", pl.: Psht. *vāṣə* (< Av. *vāstra*-, not Phl. *vaxš*; *-xš*- becomes *-ṣ*- in Psht., *-š* in Orm., cf. also):

Orm. *gas* (Log. *gišī*) "tooth": Psht. *γās* < \**gastra-*, cf. Av. *gah-*, Skr. *ghas-* "to eat".

With \**b-* we have Orm. *bazar* "fore-arm": Psht. *vaz(a)r* "arm, wing", Oss. *bazur*, Pers. *bāl*, etc.

With \**-p-*, Orm. *van* "cowife", *vindzōk* "step-son": Psht. *bən*, *bənzai* (Av. *hapaθnī-*).

Among the words peculiar to Psht. and Orm., though not modern loan-words from Psht., we may mention Orm. *duš-ki* "a little": Psht. *ləž*, *ləškī*; Orm. *prān* "yesterday": Psht. *parūn*, but Pers. *paran*; Orm. *rāš'ai* "brother's son": Psht. *vrārə*; Orm. *xvarkai* "sister's son": Psht. *xōrayai*, Waz. *xwaryāi*; Orm. *tā* "paternal uncle": Psht. *trə*; Orm. *xvaš* "sweet", *xvāžāvi* "sweetness": Psht. *xōž* "sweet" (cf. Av. *x'arəzišta-* "sweetest", Pers. *xvālīdan* "to taste", Oss. *xorz*, *xvarz* "good", but Orm., Psht. *xvaš* "agreeable, pleasing": Pers. *xvaš*); Orm. *nōk* (*nis-*) "to take out": Psht. *nīvul* (*nis-*).

In one case Psht. has borr. from Orm. The *γ-* shows that Psht. *γutskai* "calf" (acc. to Raverty "bullock") is taken from Orm. *γvats* (Log. *γuskak*). Note the preservation of Ir. *ts* in Orm.

Phonetically Orm. has been influenced by Psht., chiefly in replacing *c* by *ts*. The same development has taken place, also under Psht. influence, in Tirahi.

The morphological correspondences between Orm. and Psht. are very striking.

The Orm. genitive particle is *ta*, in connection with personal pronouns *tar*. This word must be compared with Av. *tarō*, cf. Par. *tar* "from". Also Psht. *da*, which is used both as a genitive and as an ablative (*da . . . na*) must be the same word, with the transition of *t-* to *d-* usual in Psht. in unstressed, proclitic position. In view of the Orm. form it seems improbable that *dā* should be the relative pronoun *tya-*, employed as *ižāfat* (v. Geiger, Gr. Ir. Ph., I, 2, p. 214).

The strong form is preserved in the Psht. preposition *tar* "from".

The Psht. pers. pron. 2 pl. *tāsū*, *tāse* (Waz. *tus*, *tōsē*) has its only parallel in Orm. *tyūs* (Log. *tōs*).

Even if the demonstratives, Psht. *haṣa*, Orm. *hafō*, cannot be identified phonetically, it seems impossible to deny that there is some connection between the two forms, which have no parallels in the other Ir. languages.

Last, but not least, Psht. and Orm. agree in the use of the "adverbial" personal pronouns. E. g. the datives:

1. pers.	2. pers.	3. pers.
Orm. <i>hir</i> , <i>rī</i> (Log. <i>ar</i> , <i>ēr</i> )	<i>dal</i> (Log. <i>dar</i> )	<i>hal</i> (Log. <i>al</i> ).
Psht. <i>rā</i> (Afr. <i>ər</i> , Waz. <i>ru</i> )	<i>dar</i> (Afr. <i>dēr</i> )	<i>var</i> (Afr. <i>vēr</i> ).

Darmesteter (Chants Populaires, LXXXII) is probably right in deriving the Psht. forms from the local adverbs *aṣra*, *\*taṣra* (not *\*tvaṣra*!), *avaṣra* "hic", "istic", "illic", and not from pronominal forms with *\*-rādi*. *aṣrā* would normally become *rā*, and we need not construct a form *\*aṣra-ā*. Perhaps Afridi *ər* represents *áṣra*. The employment of the Psht. forms, as pronouns both for the sg. and the pl. indifferently, and largely as adverbs (*rā-tlāl* "to arrive") renders Darmesteter's explanation highly probable. A semasiological parallel is found in Italian *ci* (< *ecce hic*) and *vi* (< *ibi*) used as pronouns for the 1st. and 2nd pers. pl.

There is evidently some connection between the Psht. and the Orm. forms, even if its exact nature cannot at present be determined. But Orm. *dal* may also be compared with Shughn. *turd*. Possibly Psht. influence has reshaped the old Orm. forms.

It may also be mentioned that Orm., which is now completely separated from the Dard languages, contains some Dard loan-words, although they are by no means as numerous as in Par. This circumstance at any rate tends to affirm the conclusion already arrived at, namely that Orm. was spoken in approximately its present home long before the Pathan advance towards the north in the Middle Ages encircled the Orm. enclaves.

Of such words I may mention *dr<sup>a</sup>* (Log. *drī*) "hair": in Kati, and most other Dard languages *drū* etc.<sup>1</sup>; Log. *grām* "village" (cf. *Kani-grām* in Waziristan, *Grām* near Parachinar, and *Pingram* south of Baraki Barak): Kati

<sup>1</sup> Certainly horr.; but cf. Oss. *urdi* (Tomaschek).



*grom* etc. Orm *pīng* "cock", *ping*<sup>a</sup> "the time just before dawn" are reminiscent of Khw. *pinga-cii* "cock-crow, early dawn".

Orm. shows the same tendency as Eastern Pash. to confound all groups of consonants having *r* as the second component.

In the preceding pages I have tried to prove that Par. and Orm. cannot be the languages of tribes which have immigrated from the west in recent times, that they show points of mutual resemblance, at that they, although sharing some important characteristics with the Western Ir. languages, mainly agree with the eastern group. If these conclusions are correct, Par. and Orm. are the last remnants of the *south-eastern* group of Ir. languages<sup>1</sup>.

Probably in ancient times the areas of the two languages were contiguous, and the town of Kabul belonged to their domain. I cannot here enter upon the vexed and complicated question of the identification of the ancient *Kāpiśī*; but it is at any rate worth noticing that

<sup>1</sup> As demonstrated by Tedesco (l. c. p. 252) Bal. is "at any rate in its base" a Western Ir. dialect. This does not exclude the possibility that Bal. contains some eastern elements also; certainly Ir. dialects were spoken in Balochistan long before the advent of the Balochis. A trace of such eastern influence is the Bal. infinitive in *-ag*, cf. the *k* infin. in Orm. and many Dard languages. Mention may also be made of such Eastern Ir. words as. Bal. *gis* "family": Par. *γus* "house"; Bal. *sayan* "dung": Orm. *askan*, Par. *sayōn*, Wakhi *sigin*; Bal. *gwand* "short"; Par. *yanukō*, Sak. *vanda*; Bal. *gud* "clothes": Psht. *ā-γustəl* "to dress" etc.

In Orm. (Log.) Av. *vitasti* "a span" is represented by *jusp* < \**γ'asp* < \**γviasp* < \**vitaspī*- (cf. *jīst* "20" < \**γ'vīst* < \**vīsatī*). In Brahui we find *gidisp* "a span", which appears to be borr. from a lost Bal. word. This would also be derived from \**vitaspī*- with the curious alteration of *st* > *sp* which cannot have taken place independently in Orm. and Bal.

Bal. contains several Ind. loan-words, which must have been borr. at an earlier stage of linguistic development in India. Some such words have been mentioned in AO., I, pp. 254, 284: *khāṣ* "aristida spontanea" < Sindhi *kāḥu*, Skr. *kāśa*- "saccharum spont."; *pindag*, "to beg" < Sindhi *pinanḥu*. Cf. also Bal. *kapīnjar* "partridge" with *p*: Skr. *kapiñjala*-. Khetrani *vahor* "snow" is borr. from an earlier form of Bal. *gwahar*, and in Bal. *gwac* "buffalo-calf" < Sindhi *vachi* *v* has shared the Bal. transition to *gw*.



in Par. and Orm. \**Kāpišī* would normally become \**Kāvō(i)*, and that the *š*, before disappearing altogether, has possibly passed through *z*, *l* and similar sounds, as we find in neighbouring Ir. languages. E. g. in Zeb. *Kāpišī* would result in \**Kāwul*, the actual late Pahl. form. Several objections may be made to the suggestion that Pers. *Kābul* (and Ptolemy's *Κάβουρα*, *Καβολίται*) was adapted from some earlier Par. or Orm. form; but at any rate Hiuan Tsang's description of *Kia-pi-shī* (which would eventually be the Skr., not the local form of the name) agrees better with *Kabul* than with *Kaoshan* in the Ghorband valley (Marquardt, *Erānšahr*, p. 280)<sup>1</sup>.

At all events it is probable that *Kabul* was originally Ir., and that at a later period an Ind., pre-Pashai, expansion towards the west separated the tribes which have become the *Parachis* from those which are now represented by the *Ormurs*.

If. Orm. and Par. are the original Ir. languages of *Kabulistan*, then *Psht.*, with its voiced spirants, must belong to the north. The earliest known habitat of the *Pathans* in *Afghanistan* is in the *Sulaiman Mountains*, where the name of the *Gōmal* river must have been borr.

<sup>1</sup> The description of the route to *Kāpišī* "from *Bamiyan* south-east to the "humid valley" is 200 li", and from there in an easterly direction (Beal, *Buddhist Records*, I, p. 55, n. 198), can only indicate the road *Bamiyan-Helmand-Unai Pass-Kabul*. Also the statement that *Laghman* lies 600 li east of *Kia-pi-shī* agrees better with the identification of this place with *Kabul*. The "black ridge" mentioned (Beal, p. 68) might be the *Siah Koh* near *Jagdallak* (I cannot find any *Siah Koh* "which separates *Lamghân* from the upper valley of the *Kâo* and that of the *Pîcha*", Beal, l. c.). The description of *Kia-pi-shī* itself also agrees better with *Kabul* than with *Kaoshan*. E. g. it may be said that the river lies to the north-west of Old *Kabul*; but *Kaoshan* is situated north of the *Ghorband* river. The position of *Si-pi-to-fa-la-si* 40 li south of the city also points to *Kabul*, as no town can be situated in the *Paghman* mountains south of *Kaoshan*. The *Pi-lo-sa-lo* mountain, south-west of the city may be the *Sher Darvaza-Takhti-Shah* range, and the great snowy mountain about 200 li to the north-west of the royal city, with its lake, fits well in with the position of the *Paghman* range, behind the summit of which there is a well-known lake.

from an early Ind. form of Skr. *Gomatī* with the dental preserved. Names like Helmand and Khash-Rud ( $xāš < Av. x^wāstrā-$  with Psht. transition from  $str < š$  ( $ṣ$ )) show that they lived in ancient times westward towards Seistan.

If we compare Psht. with the language of the Khotan Sakas, we find agreement in several important respects. In both languages ancient  $w-$  and  $\beta-$  have been fused into one sound, initial  $\eth$  and  $f$  have become voiced before  $r$ , while  $-\eth r-$  has become  $-r-$ .  $st$  has resulted in  $št$  in the neighbourhood of an  $i$  (Sak. *māštā*: Psht. *myāšt* "month"  $< *māsti-$ ; Sak. *nāštā*: Psht. *ništa* "it is not"). Very characteristic is the metathesis in Sak. *dārsä*, Psht. *dērš* "30"  $< *drisa < *ṣrisat-$ . Cf. also Sak. *umā* "you": Psht. (encl.) *mō*; Sak. *kāma* "who": Psht. *kūm*; and the accordance between the Psht. abstract suffix  $-tyā$  and Sak.  $-tteti-$  (e. g. *tuššättetä* obl.  $< *tātyā$  "emptiness"), both stems in  $-i$ , as in Skr., but not in Av., and both with preservation of the  $t$ , as if it were initial. Cf. also the declension of fem. substantives in the two languages.

But there are also important isoglots separating the two languages. Psht. *ōvə* "7", *atə* "8" might be later developments of Sak. *hauda*, *haṣṭa*. But Psht. *tsalör*, *tsalvör* cannot be derived from Sak. *tcahori*, nor Psht. *špaž* "6" ( $< *(x)švaš$ ) from Sak. *kṣai* ( $< *xšaš$ ). The loss of  $-š-$  is characteristic of Sak. and some Hindu Kush dialects, while Sak. and W. share the development of ancient  $śv > ś$ ,  $š^1$ . Psht. has in these cases  $ž$  and  $sp$ .

The loss of  $š$  might be a later development in the literary Khotan Sak., but the difference between  $ś$  and  $sp$  must go back to a very remote period.

Psht. and Sak. must therefore belong to different branches of the Scythian dialects, and Psht. cannot be descended from the language of the Kushanas, which was

<sup>1</sup> Sak. and W. also agree in other respects (cf. Reichelt, Indogerm. Jahrbuch, I, p. 20 ff.). Cf. also Sak. *daha-* "man": W. *ḍai* "man, strong lad"; Sak. *ṣṣunda-* "raven": W. *šənd*. But still the difference in phonetic development makes it impossible to consider W. as a direct descendent of Sak.



probably very closely connected with that of the Khotan Sakas. So far as we know, the Kushanas never came as far south as Seistan or the Sulaiman mountains. But possibly Sakas settled in Seistan long before the time of the Kushanas (cf. Thomas, JRAS., 1906, pp. 181, 460 ff.).

Psht. has also some special affinities with Minj., (and Yd.). Both have the transition from  $\delta > l$  (with dissimilation Psht. *līd* "seen"  $< *δīδ$ , just as Minj. *dal* "give"  $< *δαδ$ ). Cf. Minj. *ze* "I", *žemen* "mine", *tō, tə* "thou", *že to* (LSI.), *šta* (Gauthiot) "thine" with Psht. *zə, dzmā, tə, stā* with the same use made of ancient *haca*. Cf. also Minj. *skau* (*ki*) "because": Psht. *dzaka* (*ci*) ( $< *haca-kā$ ); Minj. *la* "with" ( $< *haδa$ ): Psht. *la*; Minj. *wōs* "now": Psht. *ōs*, etc. In other respects again the two languages diverge considerably, and it is not easy to define the nature of the connection between them or its historical base.

## KAFIRI.



As already mentioned, the political situation prevented me from carrying out my plan of going to Nuristan (Kafiristan), and I have received information that Europeans who made a similar attempt last summer were not more successful. Fortunately I had an opportunity of working with Kafirs from different parts of the country in Kabul, and I received much assistance from General Abdul Vakil, himself a native of Ktivi, whose hospitable house was the meeting-place of the Kafir colony in the capital.

The Kafirs I met generally knew few original Kafir tales and songs. The latter often were obscure in the extreme, alluding to particular events, and my informants seldom could explain their contents satisfactorily. Concerning the old religion I only gathered some names of gods. I have the impression that they did not conceal any information from me; but that the younger generation really, as proud "recruits of Islam" <sup>1</sup>, knew little, and cared less, about the old, discredited paganism.

<sup>1</sup> The Kafirs are generally called *jadīdī* "recruits" after their conversion.

## KATI.

Most of the Kafirs I met came from the western valleys of Ramgel, Kulum and Ktivi. I did not get hold of any individual from Kamdesh and the lower Bashgal (*Bāžgəl*) valley; but I worked with a boy from the upper part of the valley, Bragromatal (*Br'əgr'omatal*). All these districts are called *Katīgēlā*, the tribe inhabiting them *Katī*, and their language *Katī-verī* or *Katī*<sup>1</sup>. As Bashgal only includes a small part of their country (it was even denied that the Bashgalis were real Katis), I prefer to call this most important language of Nuristan *Katī*<sup>2</sup>.

The Kati language is essentially the same, the dialectal differences being comparatively unimportant. The chief thing to be mentioned is that the Bragromatal dialect forms its present with *t* (cf. Skr. part. pres. *-ant-*), e. g. *mr'ētōm* "I am dying", while the formative in Western Kati is *n*, e. g. *mr'ēnom*. Acc. to the LSI. this is also the case in Bashgal (Kamdesh). Davidson gives both forms; probably he has heard them in different localities.

On the whole the western dialect is more conservative than Bashgali. E. g. Bashg. 2 sg. *niženj* "thou sittest down": W. Kati *nišinəš*; Bashg. *što* "4": W. Kati *štva*, *ctva*; Bashg. *ōnts* "I": Bragrom. *ū*, W. Kati *vūts*, *vūza*.

The vocabulary as well as the pronunciation varies to some extent from place to place; but it is difficult to trace any isoglots. On the other hand the pronunciation of the people from one village, or even of a single individual is extremely fluctuating, much more so than in any other language I had to do with.

At present the Katis of the western valleys (Ramgel, Kulum and Ktivi) are separated from those of the Bashgal valley by the intervening Prasuns. But the absence of any marked dialectal difference in the language of the two sections of the tribe makes it probable that they lived close together at a comparatively recent date. In

<sup>1</sup> In Pash. a village near Iskyen is called *Kātei-lām* = "*Jāi-i-kāfər*" "the village of the Kafirs".

<sup>2</sup> Probably the *Gabar's* of Babur were Katis from Ramgel.



fact the traditions of the people also point that way. It was generally said that the original home of the whole Kati tribe was Ktivi, and that they emigrated from there twelve generations ago. Cf. also the traditions recorded by Robertson (The Kafirs of Hindū Kush, p. 158) about the Kafir and Kām tribes of the Bashgal valley having come from the west.

Like the neighbouring languages Kati distinguishes between *š* and *ṣ*<sup>1</sup>, and between *c* and *ç*. E. g. *šāl* "cattle-shed" (Skr. *sālā-*), *šaru* "autumn", *dušt* "hand", *štrī* "woman", *aši* "mouth", but *ṣū* "6", (*v*)*ušt* "8", *pa(r)ṣi* "hill" etc.; *com* "skin", *cā* "wall", *cū* "kid", but *çā!* "O man!", *çur'i* "knife", *çū* "inside of the thigh", etc. The difference between the two series is not great, or always easy to catch, and I am afraid that in some cases I have been unable to distinguish correctly between them.

The Kati sound written *r* by Davidson and in the LSI. is quite different from the Ind. and Psht. flapped *r*. It is postalveolar, spirantic *r* which I shall write *r'*. This *r'* occurs both as an initial, in postvocalic position, and after *k*, *g*, *p*, *b*, but not after dentals. The explanation probably is that Ind. *r*, as described by the Skr. grammarians, was "cerebral", i. e. articulated further back than the teeth. In Kafiri this special quality of the *r* is retained, except where it is drawn forward under the influence of a preceding *t*, *d* (e. g. Kati *tre* "3", but *br'ā* "brother"). In Waig. K. I generally heard *kr*, *br* etc. Cf. the conditions in Pash. (v. below). In Waig. and Ashk. both *r'* and *r* occur. In combinations like *ār'* the nasalization extends to the *r'*.

The language described by Raverty (JASB., XXXIII, pp. 267 ff.) is in the main Kati, and not Waig., as stated in LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 30 and 45. But Raverty has inserted some Waig. words taken from Burnes' vocabulary (Cabool,

<sup>1</sup> According to Grammont (BSL., XXIV, p. 11) the Prakrit *s* (developed from *ś*, *ś*, *ṣ*) was articulated between the dental *s* and the palatal *ś*. Thus *ts* became *tś* (and further *cch*) etc. It is worthy of note that Kafiri etc., which keeps *s*, *ś*, *ṣ* apart, also retains *ts*.

App. IV). This is especially clear as regards the last nouns given by Raverty: "*tar-wáli*" "sword", "*cha-wí*" "axe", "*karai*" "shield", "*as-tah*" (sic!) "soldier", "*sal-manash*" "chief", "*kat-kai*" "troop", "*bar-kán*" "wall", Kati: *tr'evác*, *vezāv*, *kir'ā*, ?, *šūr mánci*, *sēī*, *cā*, but Burnes (nearly in the same order): "*tarvalé*", "*chavi*", "*karai*", "*oatáh*", "*salmanash*", "*katki*", "*barkán*". Also some others of Raverty's words are Waig., but in most cases the orthography used reveals that his source is Burnes. E.g. both Burnes and Raverty have "*tún*" for *tsū* "dog". Raverty has also inserted a few Pash. words in his Siah-Posh vocabulary, viz. "*párrurra*" "apple", "*link*" "walnut", "*sewarah*" "bridge", Kati *par'ə*, *ar'mr'ū*, *syū*, but Pash. *parār*, *liṇ*, *sēvār*. But the great majority of his words are Kati, probably from the western valleys, as indicated by a word like "*minah*" "rope", W. Kati *məne*, but Bashg. *kanik*.

## WAIGELI.

The second Kafir language which I had occasion to study, was Waigeli (*Vāigali*). One informant was from *Kēgal* in the lower part of the Waigel valley, the other from a village, situated higher up on a western tributary to the Waigel river, which he himself called *Žənjigal*, and the Kegal-man *Vr'encəgal* (cf. Survey-map *Venruchgul*, Lumsden and Tanner *Runtschgal*).

There is a marked difference between these two dialects. To give only a few examples, we find in Waig. K(egal) *ev* "1", but in Zh(önjigal) *ēk*, in K. *aṇä* "I", *omō* "my", *ū* "by me", *amī* "we", but in Zh. *yē*, *imē*, *ī*, *yemä*. Generally the Zh. forms agree with those given in the LSI.

The same is the case with the verbs. In K. all the forms of the verb are conjugated in the same way. E. g.

1 sg.	<i>vēsam</i>	"I beat etc.	1 pl.	<i>vēsamiš</i>
2 „	<i>vēsaš</i>		2 „	<i>vēsav</i>
3 „	<i>vēsäi</i>		3 „	<i>vēsät</i> .

But in Zh., as in the LSI. dialect, we find different types:

1 sg. <i>vīam</i> "I beat" (aor.)	<i>vīār'om</i> "I am beating"	<i>ōrīm</i> "I was"
2 » <i>vīeš</i>	<i>vīer'eš</i> (defin. pres.)	<i>ōrīš</i>
3 » <i>vīas</i>	<i>vīār'</i>	<i>ōrī</i>
1 pl. <i>vīemiš</i>	<i>vīār'miš</i>	<i>ōrimiš</i>
2 » <i>vīasē</i>	<i>vīerē</i>	<i>ōrī</i>
3 » <i>vīast</i>	<i>vīer'et</i>	<i>ōrī</i>

Among the phonetic differences I need only mention that in K. an initial *r'* becomes *vr'*, but in Zh. *ž*. E. g. K. *vr'uc* "light, daybreak": Zh. *žōž*, Ashk. *žuts-kā*, Kati (*r'*)*ic-kāl*; K. *vātr* "night" (dissimilated from *vr'ātr*, cf. *dəšt* "elder" < \**ješt*): Zh. *žātr*, Ashk. *žātr*, *zatr*, Kati *r'adār* (< \**rātrī-vāra*-); K. *avr'ō* "elbow", Zh. *ājā*, Kati *ār'ə*, Pras. *wužə* (?). Also K. *vr'āo* "egg.": Zh. *žāo*, *jāw*, Ashk. *žau*, *jau* must be explained in the same way, and we have seen that the local pronunciation *Žonjigal* corresponds to K. *Vr'encəgal*. Lumsden has "row" "egg", but "zheat" "night", "*ayāh*" "elbow"; but his materials are probably based on the dialects of different localities.

In some cases, however, both K. and Zh. have *vr'*: K. *vr'ūk* "salt": Zh. *vr'ək*, Lumsden *wuh*, Ashk. *žōk*, Kati *žyuk*; K. *vr'ōk*: Zh. *vr'ōk* "sister-in-law"; K. *vr'amā* "willow": Zh. *vr'amā*, *vamār'*; K. *vr'ō* "to weep": Zh. *vr'ā*, Ashk. *žū*, Kati *žyū*, *r'žyē* (Skr. *rud*-?).

The dialect described by Vigne is closely related to K. Cf. Vigne, K. *ev* "1": Zh., LSI., Burnes, Lumsden *ek*; Vg. *nos*, K. *nās* "nose": Zh. *nasū*, Lumsden *nasú*, LSI. *nasū*, Burnes *nású*, Villiers *nású*; Vigne "shon" "belly", K. *šā*: Zh. etc. *kūts* etc.; Vigne "unda" "meat", K. *andā*: Zh. *anà*, Lumsden "unnáh", Villiers "ana".

Lumsden's dialect is very similar to that of Burnes' vocabulary, and it appears that Lumsden has to some extent copied his predecessor. His own materials come from Traieguma, where the dialect in some respects approaches GB. Cf. "zash" "11", "sullaish" "16": GB. *jāš*, *šurās*, but Waig. *yāš*, *šēš*.

## ASHKUN.

After many attempts I got hold of an Ashkun man in Kabul, who was said to be the only one of his tribe residing there. He very quickly understood the commercial value of his language, and proposed that I should give him 1000 rupees for his information. He said that he came from *Titī'n*. Higher up on the Pech river is *Tserū'* (Survey map *Tsranu*, Lumsden *Tsooni*, Tanner *Sanu* "with very nasal *n'*", Robertson *Tsáru*), and still further *Vāmā*, the language of which place he only understood to some extent. Acc. to him Pash. is spoken in Kurdar, and Psht. in *Gusalak*, *Nuṅgalām*, *Bardēš* and *Arcailām* (Survey map: *Gursalak*, *Nimṅalām*, *Wradesh* and *Rachalam*).

In Peshawar on my way home I had an opportunity of working for some hours with another Ashkun man from *Majegal*. He said that *Majegal* and *Masevī* were on the Laghman side towards Mangu, and separated by a mountain from *Titī'n*, *Nakára*, *Sauzē'tr* and other Ashkun villages on the Pech side. According to him my first informant was not from *Titin*, but from *Vāmaī*; but I am not in a position to verify his statement.

They pronounced the name of their tribe *Aškū*, *Aškūrū'*, and both denied that the name had any meaning, such as "Bare Mountain" (cf. LSI., VIII, 2, p. 68).

At any rate the M(ajegal) dialect differs from the "T(itin)" dialect. The chief characteristic of M. is that *r'* is changed into *l* after *k*, *g*, *p*, *b*, *m*, *v* (cf. Pash.). E. g. T. *pr'azā* "fever", *pr'ēm* "I give", *pr'ā* "babe", *tsipr'ā* "lamb", *br'a* "brother", *br'amī* "ant", *kr'um* "roof", *kr'ām* "work", *vr'ēi* "flour", but M. *plāzā*, *plēm*, *plā*, *tsiplā*, *bla*, *blamī*, *klōm*, *klēm*, *vlēi*, and also *glam* "village", *Kati gr'om* (T. *dēšī*), *mlaṅ* "mountain goat", Waig. *mr'aṅ*.

Ashk. is closely related to Waig. Cf. Ashk. *ai* "I", *ima*, *imā* "my", *yū*, *ī*, *yū* "by me": Waig. Zh. *yē*, *imə*, *ī*. Ashk. *tsatā* "4" is very similar to Waig. *catā*, but shows



that *c* becomes *ts*. Likewise we have *s*<sup>1</sup> for Waig. *š*, e. g. in *dus* "10": Waig. *dōš*; *sarō* "autumn": Waig. *šorō*, etc. Before an *i* we have Ashk. *š* in *višī* "20", *sēmiš* "we are", cf. also Ashk. *žīm* "snow": Waig. *zīm*.

The vocabulary is to a great extent identical with that of Waig.; but, as might be expected, considering the geographical position of Ashk., we also find some special similarities with Kati.

The conjugation is as follows:

1 sg. <i>sem</i> "I am"	<i>kalim</i> "I shall do"	<i>kōm</i> "I do"
2 » <i>ses</i>	<i>kalis</i>	<i>kōs</i>
3 » <i>sāi</i>	<i>kalāi</i>	<i>kōi</i>
1 pl. <i>sēmiš</i>	<i>kalēmiš</i>	<i>kōmiš</i>
2 » <i>seg</i>	<i>kalēg</i>	<i>kōṇ</i>
3 » <i>sen</i>	<i>kalen</i>	<i>kōn</i> .

The opposition between *ses* and *sēmiš* (Kati *asiš*, *asēmiš*) reminds us of Pras. *es-o* "thou art", but *esēmš-o* "we are" (LSI.). The *n* of 3 pl. is difficult to explain, as *nt* remains, e. g. in *dunt* "tooth". Either the final vowel in *-anti* was dropped so early that *-nt* could be treated in a special way, or *n* is a survival of a secondary suffix.

Ashkun was previously supposed to be unknown, but the language described by Trumpp (JRAS., XIX, pp. 1 ff.) is practically identical with the Majegal dialect. Cf. the numerals 1—10: *ac*, *dū*, *tre*, *tsatā*, *ponts*, *šu*, *sōt*, *ōšt*, *no*, *dus*, and *cinis* "11", *bāis* "12", *šurīs* "16", *vesō* "19" with Trumpp's "*āch*, *dū*, *trē*, *tsadā'*, *punts*, *šu*, *sūt*, *ušt*, *nū*, *dōs*, *žū'nis*, *bē'is*, *sū'ris*, *usū'*". The specimens of Kafir and Sanu languages given by Tanner (Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc., NS. 3, p. 219 f.) are also in Ashk. But it is surprising that his Sanu-specimen has *l* in *glam* "village". The few words which can be explained in the song from the village Nikera (Nakara mentioned above) by Fazl Haqq and Norulla (quoted by Davidson, Notes on the Bashgali Language, p. 169) are likewise Ashk.

<sup>1</sup> This *s*, the *s* of *ts*, and the *z* < *ž*, are perhaps articulated a little further back than ordinary *s*. I have written *s*, because I am not quite certain about the matter.

## PRASUN.

Unfortunately I was not able to collect much information about Prasun (Vasi-Veron). My Kati and Ashkun informants called the valley and the language *Pr'asū*, *Pr'asun*, *Pr'asū*, and said that the Parsi name was *Parun*. This tribe lives in great isolation, and members of it very seldom come to Kabul.

A couple of days before I intended to leave Kabul, some of my Kati friends finally got hold of a Prasun man for me. He was not intelligent, and I had to communicate with him in Kati. In order not to weary and frighten him, I only worked with him for about an hour the first day. But in spite of all my precautions, plenty of bakshish and a promise of much more, he found it too fatiguing and too dangerous to give a sahib lessons in his mother-tongue, and he did not turn up the next day. Neither the authorities nor the other Kafirs seemed to be able to find him, and they said that he had left the city.

In his physical appearance he was quite different from all the other Kafirs I met, who were generally bright-looking fellows with clear-cut features. The Prasun man was comparatively dark-skinned, with a very broad face and heavy features.

In these circumstances I was only able to write down a vocabulary of two hundred words, numerals included, and, as I had no opportunity to check my materials, I am afraid that I have not in all cases recognized and noted down correctly sounds which are peculiar to Pras.

E. g. many words ended in a guttural, probably an unvoiced lenis, articulated far back, and with a peculiar acoustic quality which I was not able to catch during the short seance. It is the sound written *-kh* in the LSI., e. g. *isikh* "sun", *istikh* "star", *warekh*, *tareq* "house", *masekh* "moon", *psikh* "cat", *anakh* "fire", *luzukh* "tongue". In these cases I have tentatively written *üsük*, *istik*, *varek*, *mësegë*, *pšigī*, *aneḡe*, *wurdzux*. Corresponding to LSI.

*keruk* "dog", *kakogū* "hen", *lushtu* "daughter", I have *kər'āk*, *kakaγë*, *lūštuk*. Cf. also *pīnīk* "son", *vorix* "wool", *rasix* "grape", *vezege* "egg". Probably these words do not all contain the same sound.

Generally speaking, my materials agree fairly well with the LSI., as may be exemplified by the numerals: *ipūn* (LSI., *ipin*) "1", *lū* (*lūe*) "2", *cī* (*chī*) "3", *cpū* (*cipū*) "4", *vucū'* (*uc*) "5", *vūšu* (*ušū*) "6", *së'të* (*sete*) "7", *a'ste* (*aste*) "8", *nū* (*nūh*) "9", *lez* (*leze*) "10", *züz* (*ziž*) "11", *üz* (*wizū*) "12", *ciz* (*chīza*) "13", *cpults* (*cipults*) "14", *višilt* (*višilh*) "15", *ušilt* (*ušulht*) "16", *sëtlī'z* (*setilt*) "17", *asli'z* (*astilt*) "18", *nālt* (*nalts*) "19", *dzū* (*zū*) "20", *ledzëž* (*lezaij*) "30", *žibeze* (*jibeze*) "40", *lejjibiz* (*lejjebets*) "50", *šcəgzū* (*cicegzū*) "60", (*šcəgdalets*) (*cicegzālets*) "70", *cpəgzū* (*cipegzū*) "80", *cpəgzulets* (*cipegzūalets*) "90", *vucəgzū* (*ocegzū*) "100". Some of the variants seem due to real dialectal differences.

The phonetic system of Pras. has been much more violently dislocated even than that of Kati, a circumstance which, in conjunction with the anthropological facts, renders it probable that a perhaps un-Aryan substratum has influenced the development of the language.

The transition from *d* > *l* (*ulyūmā* "smoke", *lūō* "wood": Kati *dyūm*, *dāw*, etc.) reminds us of the similar development in the neighbouring Minj. For LSI. *letem* "tooth" I have (<sup>l</sup>)*étum* (with a very weak *l*), and, instead of *luzukh* "tongue", *vurdzux*. *dugā* "for the sake of", and *dəmū* "tail" are probably borr. from Kati.

The *r* has been dropped in *gr*, *br*, *mr*, *vr*: *gim* "village": Kati *gr'om*; *gəx* "neck": Kati *gr'ək*; *bab* "brother": Kati *br'ā*, *br'āb*; *mo-ksum* "I am dead": Kati *mr'ā*; *mange* "mountain-goat": Kati *mr'on*; *vakus* "deer" (so LSI., correctly: "hare"): Kati (*v*)*r'akus*; *vāmī* "ant": Kati *vr'amik*. On the other hand *aphleh* "give" (LSI.) must be compared with Kati *pr'ē*. The regular outcome of *tr* seems to be *c*, as in *cī* "3", *cūū* "sour milk": Kati *trū*, *trū-zū*, and probably in *jiceveh* "paper, letter" (LSI.), cf. Kati *štrei*

"letter, book", *štrā*- "to write", Waig. *citrā*-. *letri* "property" (LSI.) is probably borr. from Kati *lātrī*, \**dr*- we find in *rasix* "grape": Kati *dros*, and in *dūi* "hair": Kati *dru*.

Characteristic is also the change from *c* > *ž* (e. g. *ižī* "eye": Kati *aci*; *žime* "iron": Kati *cīmā*; *žüžū* "female breast": Waig. *cüci*; *jiceveh* "letter" < *citra*-)<sup>1</sup>, from *tv* > *p*, and *dv* > *v* (*cpū* "4"; *üz*, LSI. *wizū* "12"), from *r'* > *ž* (*vužū* "partridge": Kati *vur'ə*; *vužə* "elbow": Kati *ar'ə*; *ijü* "millet": Kati *āvr'i?*), the treatment of *n(y)*- (*iūni* "new": Kati *nui*; *yī* "sour milk, dugh": Kati *nyuva*), and the prothetic vowel in *üsük* "sun", *istik* "star", *ulyūmā* "smoke", *aphleh* "give".

Very strange is the development into *v*- of *p*- in *vucū* "5", *višilts* "15", *više* "heel": Kati *pašyū*, and possibly in *vā* "apple": Kati *par'ə*. But the *p*- is preserved in *pīnik* "son", *paši* "breast", *ps*- "to lose".

A similar, irregular loss of an initial consonant is met with in other words. E. g. *ešte*k "elder" (LSI.): Kati *ješt*; *imī* "son-in-law": Kati *žāmī*; *iyū* "thou", *i* "thee" (LSI.): Kati *tü*, *tyü*; *umū* "wheat": Kati *gūm*; *yire* "stone": Kati *garrah* (Raverty); *irī* "horse": Waig. *gōrā*. Some of these cases are uncertain; but the tendency certainly exists, probably coming into play under special conditions, the nature of which cannot at present be determined. In many cases initial *p*, *ž*, *g* etc. are preserved.

These profound changes have rendered many Pras. words nearly unrecognizable; but the language also shares many phonetic features with other Kafir languages, e. g. the *z* for Ind. *h* in *zemā* "snow", *zər* "heart", *ižnera* "winter" (< \**zimar*-?), the loss of *-r* (*cpū* "4") etc.

Where Kati differs from Waig. and Ashk., Pras. sides with the former. Thus *nt* becomes *t* in *letum* "tooth", *usti* "spring": Kati *dut*, *vosut*, but Waig. *dōt*, *osōt*. *y* is inserted in *ulyūmā* "smoke", *üstyū* "pillar": Kati *dyūm*, *štyū*, but Waig. *dūm*, *uštūn*, and we have *bīm* "earth", *mikh* "face" (LSI.): Kati *bīm*, *byūm*, *mīk*, *myuk*, but Waig. *būm*, *muk*. Pras. also agrees with Kati in having \**ts* in

<sup>1</sup> But *cāmā* "skin" < \**crama* < *carma*.



lez "10", *ščagda-lets* "70", *dzū* "20" (< \**utsū*): Kati *duts*, *vətsə*, Waig. *dōš*, *višī*.

The vocabulary, as far as it is known, agrees chiefly with Kati. E. g.

Pras.	Kati	Waig.
<i>vitrū</i> "rainbow"	<i>īdrō</i>	<i>šīṇdrōṇ</i>
<i>mire</i> "clay"	<i>mər'yī</i>	<i>mōk</i>
<i>cir'ē</i> "apricot"	<i>tsirə</i>	<i>ajēi</i>
<i>γāl</i> "rain"	<i>agāl</i>	<i>vaš</i>
<i>mūsū</i> "mouse"	<i>māsē</i>	<i>pusā</i>
<i>kər'āk</i> "dog"	<i>kur'ī</i>	<i>tsū</i>
<i>goṭ</i> "wrist"	<i>guṭ</i>	<i>šacā</i>
<i>vāzū</i> "oak"	<i>vəzī</i>	<i>mōts</i>
<i>korū</i> "ass"	<i>kur</i>	<i>gadā</i>
<i>mana</i> "rope" (LSI.)	<i>māne</i>	<i>žūtṛ</i>
<i>gim</i> "village"	<i>gr'om</i>	<i>dēš</i>
<i>ḍigar</i> "bad"	<i>ḍigər</i>	<i>abar</i>
<i>unzū</i> "I"	<i>vūts, ūzə, Bashg. ōnts</i>	<i>aṇā</i>

In other cases Pras. sides with Waig.:

<i>vutū</i> "wall"	<i>cā</i>	<i>vattā</i>
<i>īšī</i> "hail"	<i>tiṇəlik</i>	<i>asē</i>
<i>iš-kits</i> "moustache" ( <i>iš</i> "mouth")		<i>kēts</i> "hair"
<i>žüzū</i> "female breast"	<i>cuk</i>	<i>ciici</i>
<i>nīdze</i> "bird"	<i>mr'əṇets</i>	<i>nīgetse</i>
<i>vamī</i> "ram"	<i>né-vā</i>	<i>vamē</i>

The verbal system of Pras. differs much from that of the other Kafir languages. Still most of the terminations can be recognized. The 2 pl., e. g. *es-en-o* "you are", agrees with Kati *ās-ər'* < \**asa-thana*. The 3 pl. of the auxiliary *ast-o* "they are" (Kati *ašt* < \**asanti*) is used as a termination of other verbs also, as, to some extent, in Waig. E. g. *pezemast-o* "they go": Waig. *yēast* "they eat", but Kati *yūnət*. Even in Kati we should expect \**yūnašt*, as the present is composed of a participle and the auxiliary. But Kati has replaced \*-*santi* by \*-*anti*.

It will be seen that Pras. occupies an independent position within the Kafir languages; but that it agrees chiefly with Kati, as is only natural on account of its

geographical position. In some cases it has preserved forms which have been lost in the neighbouring dialects. Thus *žibeze* "40" cannot be explained from the vigesimal system in the same way as *ščə-g-zū* "60", *cpa-g-zū* "80" and *vuce-g-zū* "100". The word must be derived from  $\langle *cāpatsa \langle *catvarśat-$  (Av. *caθwarəsatəm*), with the regular transition from  $c > ž$ , and from  $tv > p$ , which has become  $b$  in the intervocalic position. In *cpū* "4"  $\langle *catvā'r-$  the early elision of the unaccented vowel has protected both  $c$  and  $p$ , and the  $i$  in LSI. *cipū* is probably secondary.

We may also note *usū* "blood", probably  $\langle$  Skr. *asn-*, cf. Pash. *āš*, *ār*  $\langle *asr-$ .

## THE LINGUISTIC POSITION OF KAFIRI.

The question of the classification of the so-called Dard languages<sup>1</sup> has been much discussed. Some scholars have reckoned them among the Ind. languages, others have considered them to be a special group, intermediate between Ind. and Ir., or have held them, or at any rate some of them, to be actually Ir.

The difficulty of deciding this question is due to the fact that the differences between the most ancient Ind. and Ir. languages are very slight. While e. g. Psht. *(v)rōr* "brother", or *bən* "co-wife" are extremely different from Hindi *bhāī* and *saut*, it is only the lack of aspiration which distinguishes Av. *brātar-* from Skr. *bhrātar-*, and the transition from  $s$  to  $h$ , and af  $tn$  to  $θn$ , which make Av. *hapaθnī-* differ from Skr. *sapatnī-*.

On the assumption that a group of Ind. dialects had been more or less separated from its sister languages since a very early period, we should expect to find but few characteristics distinguishing it from Ir. On the one hand it would probably have lost many ancient words and forms showing typical Ind. features in phonology and morphology. On the other it would not

<sup>1</sup> Viz. Kshm., Shina, the dialects of the Indus Kohistan, Khow., Kal., GB., the Kafir languages, Pash. and Tirahi.

have participated in the later Ind. developments, which have widened the originally quite narrow gulf between Ir. and Ind. Very probably it would have preserved some features common to Ancient Ind. and Ancient Ir., now generally lost on the Ind. side; and thus it might give the observer a false impression of siding with Ir. Finally it would have developed peculiarities of its own, separating it from the main body of Ind. languages; and it might have been influenced by, and have borrowed from, Ir. languages which happened to be its neighbours.

Now all these theoretical considerations may be applied in trying to decide the position of the Dard languages. The loss of final syllables has destroyed many terminations which permitted us to distinguish between Anc. Ir. and Anc. Ind. In their isolation they have not shared in many of the later Ind. simplifications of groups of consonants, and in this respect they have kept nearer to Ir. They have developed a great many peculiar phonetic and morphological features, in some cases on parallel lines with, or influenced by, Ir.<sup>1</sup>

A special difficulty consists in the fact that these languages have, at all periods, borrowed freely from the neighbouring Ind. and Ir. languages, and that it is often impossible to distinguish "semi-tatsama's", i. e. old loan-words which have been subjected to Dard phonetic laws, from genuine "tadbhava"-words.

The majority of the Dard languages are not distinguished from the other Ind. languages by any ancient traits, and they differ considerably from the neighbouring Ir. dialects, even though they are in some cases influenced by them.

The loss of the aspiration is evidently secondary. Aspirated tenues are still generally preserved, and in Pash. aspirated mediae are, at least to some extent, in use. Leech often writes aspirated mediae in Tirahi, and generally in etymologically right places, while Stein always

<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the case with the Shina termination of the 1 pers. pl. fut. -ōn, which resembles the corresponding form in Wakhi and other Pamir dialects. (But cf. p. 91.)



gives the corresponding unaspirated sounds. It is at least possible that a slight aspiration was still heard in Leech's time, eighty years ago. In Kal., also, Leitner and LSI. occasionally write aspirated mediae; but the aspiration of corresponding Hind. and Lhd. words may have influenced the recorders. In Kohistani Shina we find *lhaun̄u* "to obtain" < *labh-*. It is certain, at any rate, that the aspiration of mediae was lost at a time, when the characteristic Ind. transition from *\*ǵh*, *\*jh* > *h* had already taken place. E. g. in Khow. we find *būm* "earth" < *bhūmi-*, but *him* "snow" < *\*ǵhima-*. The partial transition from *bh* > *h* in the root *bhū-* is likewise met with in the Dard languages: Khow. *hoi* "he became", Chiliss (Biddulph) *hō* "to be", Shina *hanus* "I am" (< *\*bhavant- + asmi*), Tirahi *wā* "he was" (< *\*hūaa-* < *\*bhūtaka-*).

On the other hand there is also a tendency to disaspiration in other Ind. languages, e. g. in Eastern Bengali, in Khetrani and in the Lari dialect of Sindhi, where the aspirated mutes are retained, as in Dard. There may be a connection between the unvoicing of the *h*, and the loss of the aspiration of mediae in the Dard dialects. When the voiced *h* disappeared, the voiced aspirates also became unstable, and had a tendency, either to lose their aspiration (as in Dard), or to unvoice the stop (as in Romany).

Languages like Kashm., Shina, Khow., Kal., GB., Pash. and Tirabi are thus absolutely and unquestionably Ind. The languages of the Kafir group — Kati, Waigeli, Ashkun and Prasun — occupy a position apart from the other Dard languages in some important respects.

The most obvious point is that we find Skr. *h* (Aryan *\*ǵh* and *\*jh*) represented by *z* and *ž* (*j*). Konow has given some examples from Bashgali (JRAS., 1911, pp. 21 and 34): *zīm* "snow", *zira* "heart", *zīr* "yellow", *jerik* "shame", *jār-* "to kill" (Kati *zīm*, *zirā*, *zər'ə*, *žirik*<sup>1</sup>, *žār'*; Waig. *zim*, *zō*, *zār* ("grass", cf. Skr. *harit-*), —, *jā-*; Ashk. *žim*<sup>1</sup>, *ži-dī*, —, *žirik*,<sup>1</sup> —; Pras. *zema*, *zər*, —, —, —).

<sup>1</sup> With secondary palatalization of *z* before *i*.

And we may add, with \**zh*: Kati *zavâr* (< \**zē-vār*) "winter", Waig., Ashk. *zē*; Kati *lez*- "to lick", Ashk. *lēs*-; Kati *ūzə*, *vūts* "I", Pras. *unzū*; Kati *pr'aza* "fever, illness", Ashk. *pr'azā*, *pləzā*, Waig. *pr'ajā* (cf. Skr. *prahāra*-, "wound, a chronic and acute pain from a wound". Kati *prōr* "wound" is borrr., just as Waig. *Mādē*, Ashk. *Blamadē* "names of gods" < *Mahādeva*-, *Brahmadeva*-).

With \**jh* we find: Kati *jut*, *dyut* "panther", Waig. *jōt*, *žōt*, (Lumsden "*jūnt*"), Pras. *žūtū*: Skr. *hantr* "robber, killer"; Kati *jalai* "duck", Ashk. *zalai*, Pras. *želai* (LSI.): Skr. *hilla*- "a kind of aquatic bird", Psht. *hīlai* (borrr. from Ind.)?

Kati *dušt* "hand", Pras. *lust* and the corresponding Waig. and Ashk. words do not prove a transition from *ēh* > *d* (Konow, l. c., p. 35, cf. also below p. 54, note). Kati *dus* "yesterday", Waig. *dūs*, Ashk. *dōs* must be compared with Skr. *doṣā*-, not with *hyas*.

But this development of \**zh*, \**jh* into *z*, *ž* must not be considered as an isolated phenomenon. It is only the result of an early loss of aspiration. Thus *bhūmi*- and \**zhima*-, which become *būm*, *him* in Khow., result in *byim*, *zim* in Kati, where the aspiration was lost *before* the Ind. transition from \**zh* > *h*. But this, after all, is only a question of chronology, and does not justify our separating Kafiri from the Ind. group, especially as the deaspiration goes further than in Ir., and affects the unvoiced stops also, which do not become spirants, as in Ir. (Kati *kur* "donkey": Pers. *xar*).

Pras. has got *x*, *γ* in some cases, and in a few words we find *x*, *φ* in Kati before *t*, e. g. *vaxtā* "seized" (*vaganəm* "I seize"), *φtā*, *pφtā*, *ptā* "gave"<sup>1</sup>. Apart from this evidently recent development Kafiri possesses no spirants, and Waig. renders Psht. *ūx* "camel" by *ūk*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Multani *nixtā* pret. part. from *nikal*- "to go out" (LSI. VIII, 1, p. 264), where a spirant is developed in a similar position.

<sup>2</sup> One Kati man from Ramgel pronounced *khur* "donkey", *phul* "grain", *čhurī* "knife", *phuṇū* "kidney" with a slight aspiration. Unfortunately I was able to examine this man only for a very short time, and I could not detect any aspiration in the pronunciation of other Katis. In Pras. the LSI. writes *kh*, *ph* in some cases.

More important, perhaps, is another point. As noted by Konow (l. c.), the Kafir languages distinguish between Aryan \**ǵ(h)* and \**j(h)*, the one being represented by *z* (*dz*), the other by *ǵ* (*j*). Besides the examples already quoted, and those given by Konow (l. c., p. 34), I may mention:

1) With \**ǵ*: Kati *zeyə* "was born", Waig. *zayōi*; Kati *br'azə* "pain", Ashk. *br'azə* (Skr. *bhrāj-*, Greek φλέγω?); Waig. *zompī* "grinder", cf. Pash. *jān-dān* < \**jambha-danta-*; Kati *zōtr* "friend", Skr. *joṣṭr-*, cf. Shina *jōthī* "female paramour".

The Kafari words for "tongue" are difficult to explain, as those in most Indo-Eur. languages: Kati *dīts*, Waig. *jīp*, *jip*, Ashk. *žū*, Pras. *vurdzux* (LSI. *luzukh*). None of these forms can be derived directly from the prototype of either Skr. *jihvā-* or Av. *hizvā-*. Waig. *jip*, *jīp* seems to be borr. from Pash. *jip*. The Ashk. form may possibly correspond to Skr. *juhū-* < \**ǵuǵhū-*, but why *ž*? If the Pras. form given in the LSI. is the original one, *luzu-* may represent \**dutsu-* < \**daśu-*, and correspond to Kati *dīts*. But Kati final *ts* may also represent an older (d)z, as in *vūts* "I", and \**daǵhu-* might be compared with Lat. *lingua* etc.

2) With \**j*: Kati *jī* "bowstring" (also *zī*, borr. from Pers.), Waig. K. *jī*, Zh. *gī* (sic!), Ashk. *žī*; Kati *ješt*, *jeṣṭ* "elder", Waig. *duštə*, Ashk. *dešte* (with dissim. of *j* before *š*, *ṣ*)<sup>1</sup>; Kati *žāmī* "sister's husband", cf. Skr. *jāmi-* "related like brother and sister", but Kati *zəmə* "brother in law", Skr. *jāmātr-*.

This distinction between *ǵ(h)* and *j(h)* strongly reminds one of Ir. It is a curious fact that its limit coincides with the isoglott marking an ancient deaspiration. In no Aryan language the four sounds *ǵ*, *ǵh*, *j*, *jh* are allowed to be fused into one. The Ind. languages distinguish between *j* and *h*, Ir. and Kafari between *z* and *ǵ*, and only

<sup>1</sup> Also Kati *dušt* "hand", Waig. *dōšt*, Ashk. *dōst*, Pras. *lust* are probably dissimilated from \**zast*, and not borr. from Pers. *dast*. The same is the case, I think, with at least some of the non-Persian Ir. forms with \**d-*, Psht. *lās*, Shughn. *δus* etc.



in the special Persian dialect, where Ir. *z* developed into *d* at an early date, has the further change of  $\check{z} > z$  been permitted.

Aryan *\*śś(h)* (Ind.-Eur. *\*sk(h)*) has become *s* in Ir. and (c)ch in Ind. The treatment in Kafirī is not clear. Konow (l. c. p. 13) mentions Bashg. *ats* "come": Skr. *āgaccha*; *tsave* "shade": Skr. *chāyā-*; *vatsā* "shoe": Skr. *avacchada-*. In Waig. we find *ats*, *pe-tsāvo*, *vatsā*, but in Ashk. —, *açavä*, *vatsa*, in Pras. *vezil* "shoe". Lumsden has "*wāchāi*" "shoe", "*achūr*" "shade". Kati and Ashk. *tsin-* "to break" may be compared with Skr. *chind-*. The development of *śś*, just as of *ś*, to *ts* reminds us of Ir., where also *śś* and *ś* are treated in the same way.

These are the only cases in which Kafirī sides with Ir. The occasional development of *śv-* into *šp-* has no direct connection with the Ir. transition from *śv* > *sp*. It is very doubtful whether *sv* results in *sp* in Kafirī. The word for "sister" is Kati, Ashk. *sus*, Waig. *sōs*, Pras. *sīus*, and I can only mention Kati *ašpe* "sweat" (< *svēda-*?) as a very uncertain example of the transition. *śv* > *šp* we find in Kati *spai* "porcupine", Waig. *šapai* (Lumsden "*shpai*"), Ashk. *šipau*, cf. Skr. *śvāvidh*, in Kati *vušup* "horse", which is not necessarily an Ir. loan-word, and in Waig. *pušūr*, *pašūr* "father-in-law", Ashk. *šipāsū* (*šipōs* "mother-in-law"), which points to a form with the Ind. assimilation of *sv* > *śv* before *ś*. Bashg. *psūr* agrees with Waig.; but the western Kati forms *syur'*, *styur'*, *estyur'*, *səstyūr'*, *tsəstyūr'* seem to point to a common form *\*tsastur* < *\*tsatsur* < *śasūra-*.

The purely Ind. features are numerous in Kafirī. Whatever we may think about the origin of the names of the Mitanni gods *Na-ša-at-ti-ia*, of Finno-Ugrian loan-words like Mordvinian *azoro* "lord" < *asura-*, or of the form Δάσαι for ordinary Δάαι, the transition from *s* to *h* has been carried through in all known Ir. languages. This process must have taken place at such an early date that it penetrated through the whole of the Ir. territory, from Persis to the Scythian steppes.

The preservation of *s* in Kafiri must be considered a decidedly Ind. feature.

In many cases the *s* has been palatalized through the influence of surrounding sounds, e. g. in the terminations of 2 sg. and 1 pl., Kati *-iš*, *-əmiš* < *-asi*, *-amasi*, in Kati *mištə*, *m'ūšite* "brain", Waig. *muštä* < Skr. *mastika*-. In several cases the common Indo-Ir. transition from *s* > *š* after *i*, *u* has apparently not taken place, cf. Kati *tyüs* "straw": Skr. *tuṣa*-; Kati *məsə*, Ashk. *musä* "mouse": Skr. *mūṣa*-, etc. In Kati *viš* "poison": Skr. *viṣa*- we find a secondary palatalization of the *s*, while *viš* "n. of a bulbous plant with yellow flowers, growing on the mountain slopes" is probably connected with Skr. *vr̥ṣa*- "a species of bulbous plant growing on the Himavat".

The development of Aryan *ś* (I use *ś*, *ž* as symbols for the Aryan representatives of Indo-Eur. *k*, *g*, without entering upon the question of their exact phonetic value), into *s* must also be very ancient in Ir., although later than the transition from *s* > *h*<sup>1</sup>. In Kafiri we find *š* and *ts*. In the great majority of cases we find *š*; but in one or two cases all dialects have *ts*:

Kati	Waig.	Ashk.	Skr.
<i>tsuĩ</i> "empty"	<i>tsōn</i>	<i>tsun</i>	<i>śūnya</i> -
<i>vats</i> - "to bellow, low"	<i>vats</i> -	<i>vāś</i> -, <i>vas</i> -	<i>vāś</i> -
<i>tsyā</i> "sharp"	<i>tsenalä</i>	<i>tsinale</i>	<i>śita</i> -?
<i>vakts</i> -, <i>kts</i> - "to regard"	<i>ōkats</i> -		<i>kāś</i> -. <i>*ava-śiras</i> -? <sup>2</sup>
<i>vutsār</i> ' "pillow"	<i>utsē</i>		
<i>tsā</i> "branch"	<i>tsāv</i>		<i>śākhā</i> -?

Waig *tsūn* "dog": Skr. *śun*-, and Waig. *kēts*, *kēts*, (Lumsden "*kens*") "hair", Pras. *iš-kits*: Skr. *kēśa*- have no representatives in Kati. *tsār*- "to break": Skr. *śṛ*-(?) is only known from Kati.

<sup>1</sup> The name *Assur* was probably borrowed by the Persians in the form *Aṣura*- at a time when original *s* had become *h*, but *ś* had not yet become *s*. At that time *ṣ* would be the nearest Persian equivalent to a foreign *s*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it is better to compare *opaśa*- "pillow".

Kati and Pras. have *ts*, but Waig. and Ashk. *š* in:

Kati	Pras.	Waig.	Ashk.	Skr.
<i>duts</i> "10"	<i>lez</i> ( <i>cpu-lts</i> "14")	<i>dōš</i>	<i>dus</i>	<i>daśa</i>
<i>vatsa</i> "20"	<i>dzū</i>	<i>višī</i>	<i>višī</i>	<i>vimśati-</i>
<i>tsəstyir'</i> "father-in-law"		<i>pušūr</i>	<i>šipāsū</i>	<i>śvaśura-</i>

Very doubtful is the connection between Kati *šuru* "mountain-goat", Waig. *tsōv*, Ashk. *sō*, Pash. *šaro* (cf. Anglo-Saxon *heorot* etc.?).

The cases in which we find *š* are much more numerous and certain:

Kati	Waig. (Lumsden)	Ashk. Pras.	Skr.
<i>ša, šilə</i> "cold"			<i>šīlū śīta-(la-)</i>
<i>šāi</i> "head"	<i>šai</i> "shai"	<i>šā jī (?)</i>	<i>śiras-</i>
<i>šāl</i> "cow-pen"	<i>šāl</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>śālā-</i>
<i>šaru</i> "autumn"	<i>šorō</i> "sārī"	<i>sorō šire-</i>	<i>śarad-</i>
<i>šālī</i> "rice"	<i>šeli-mai</i>	<i>sali-ma</i>	<i>śālī-</i> (probably [borr.]
<i>kšul</i> "clever"	<i>küšūla</i>		<i>kuśula-</i>
<i>šūr</i> "hero"			<i>śūra-</i>
<i>šur</i> "arrow"			<i>śaru-</i>
<i>pōš</i> "trap, net"			<i>pāśa-</i>
<i>vušup</i> "horse"			<i>aśva-</i>
<i>šavelī</i> "pregnant"			<i>śvayati?</i>
<i>pušū, vušī</i> "neighbour"			( <i>prati-</i> ) <i>veśin-</i>
<i>māša</i> "fly"	<i>mušok</i>	<i>mayōs (?)</i>	<i>maśa-</i>
<i>naš-</i> "to destroy"			<i>naś-</i>
"shom" "tribute"	<i>šām</i> "shām"		<i>śāmya-</i>
(Davidson)			[ "peace"
"shak" "vegetables"			<i>śāka-</i>
(Davidson)			
<i>viš-</i> "to wish"			<i>vaś-</i>
<i>spai</i> "porcupine"	<i>šapai</i> "shpai"	<i>šipau</i>	<i>śvāvidh-</i>
"spear"	<i>šēl</i>	<i>šil, šal</i>	<i>śalya-</i>
"fox"	<i>livaśā</i> "lāwāshā"		<i>lopāśa-</i>
"village"	<i>dēš</i> "desh"	<i>dēši</i>	<i>deśa-</i>
"to mix"	<i>mišur-</i>		<i>miśr-</i>

But generally *śr* becomes *ṣ*, as in the neighbouring Dard languages<sup>1</sup>:

Kati	Waig. (Lumsden)	Ashk. Pras.	Skr.
<i>ṣiāl</i> "wolf"			<i>śēli śṛgāla-</i>
<i>ṣiṇī, ṣiṇī</i> (but also <i>ṣiṇ</i> <i>śṛīyī</i> ) "horn"	"singh"	<i>ṣiṇg</i>	<i>śṛṇga-</i>
<i>ṣiṇgerā</i> "beautiful"	<i>ṣiṇar</i>		<i>śṛṇgāra-</i>
<i>ṣē-</i> "to boil"			<i>śrā-</i>
<i>vu-ṣam-</i> „to rest"			<i>vi-śram-</i>
"tear"	<i>uṣuk</i>		<i>aśru-</i>
<i>ṣuṇ</i> ( <i>ṣuṇ?</i> ) "navel"	<i>ṣuṇik</i>	<i>ṣūn</i>	<i>śroni-?</i>

I am not able to detect any rules for the distribution of *ṣ* and *ts*. They are both used as initials, finals, or in an intervocalic position, and the neighbouring vowels seem to have nothing to do with their character. Cf. Kati *tsuī* < *sūnya-*; but *śūr* < *śūra-*; *vats-* < *vāś-*, but *viṣ-* < *vaś-*, *naṣ-* < *naś-*. Nor is it very helpful to consider either the words with *ṣ*, or those with *ts* to be loan-words, or to imagine that an unknown dialect, which had *ts* in all cases, has influenced Kati and, to a less extent, the other Kafir languages.

Possibly the fluctuation may be due to some kind of sandhi in the sentence, the results of which have been generalized in different ways. We may note the difference between Kati *śāi* "head", and *ptsīr'* "on the head", *vutsēr'* "pillow". *ṣ* cannot be derived from *ts*, or vice versa, they must both have been developed from an Aryan affricate, something like *\*tś*, more archaic than Skr. *ś*.

Corresponding to Skr. *kṣ* we find several sounds in Kafir: *ts*, *c*, *ç*, *ṣ*, and, as demonstrated by Konow (l. c. p. 31), it does not seem to make any difference whether this *kṣ* represents an Indo-Eur. *\*qs* (*\*qḥ*) or *\*ks* (*\*kḥ*) (but *ç* < *qs?*). In this respect Kafir again approaches Ind. With *\*ks* we find:

<sup>1</sup> E. g. in Shina. The name of this people: *Ṣiṇ* is probably derived from *S'reṇya-* (cf. *fīṇ* "foam" < *phena-*), and is either an ancient tribal name (cf. King *Bimbisāra S'reṇika*), or simply means "a tribesman" from *śreṇi-* in the sense of "troop, company".



Kati	Waig. (Lumsden)	Ashk. Pras.	Skr.
<i>acī</i> "eye"	<i>acē</i>	<i>atsī ižī</i>	<i>akṣi-</i> (pl. [ <i>akṣīni</i> ])
<i>kic-kār'o</i> "armpit"	<i>kāc-ātkō</i>	<i>kṣ-logū</i>	<i>kakṣa-</i>
<i>īts</i> "bear"	<i>ōts</i>	<i>īts iitrū</i> (?)	<i>ṛkṣa-</i>
<i>datsū</i> "right"			<i>dakṣiṇa-</i>
"belly"	<i>kuts</i>	"kutch"	<i>kətsē</i> <i>kukṣi-</i> <sup>1</sup> "scrotum"

With \**qs* we have:

Kati	Waig.	Ashk.	Pras.	Skr.
<i>maci</i> "honey"	<i>maçi</i>	<i>maci</i>		<i>mākṣika-</i> (Shina [ <i>mächī</i> ])
<i>maçerik</i> "a bee"	<i>maçarik</i>	<i>macarik</i>		<i>makṣikā-</i> (Shina [ <i>mächāri</i> , Kohi- [stan dialect <i>mă-</i> [ <i>chāri</i> ])
<i>uçār</i> "poured out"	<i>cār-</i> "to pour out"			( <i>ut-</i> ) <i>kṣar-</i>
<i>vutsəv-</i> "to sneeze"	<i>viciv-</i>			<i>vi-kṣu-</i> ?
" <i>shā</i> " "night" (Davidson)				<i>kṣap-</i> ?
"wounded"		<i>çō</i>		<i>kṣata-</i> ?

With \**qs* or \**ks*:

<i>çui, çur'i</i> "knife"	<i>cō</i>			<i>kṣurikā-</i>
<i>yuš</i> "demon"	<i>yōš</i>	<i>yuš</i>		<i>yakṣa-</i> ?
<i>drās</i> "grape"	<i>drās</i>	<i>drāš</i>	<i>rasix</i>	<i>drākṣa-</i>

Several of these etymologies are very uncertain, and some of the words may be borrr.; but still the confusion remains. The other Dard languages generally have *ç(h)*. But the circumstance that they agree with Kafiri in some cases (e. g. Pash. *achī* "eye" — before an *i* —; Khaw. *orts* "bear", Kal. "*itz*"; Pash. *dešek* etc. "grape") seems to indicate that these irregularities are ancient. *sakh* "witness" (Lumsden), which presents the *kh* of the Ind. languages of the plains, is probably borrr., cf. Bashg. "*shosh*" (Davidson): Skr. *sākṣin-*. As neither Skr. *drākṣa-*

<sup>1</sup> Kati *ktsə* (Bragr. *kr'etsə*) "thigh", Ashk. T. *kitsä*, M. *klitsə* "hip" is probably a different word. There are, however, some other cases where the *r'* seems to be developed secondarily.

nor *yakṣa-* are represented in Ir. it is not probable that the Kafirī forms with *s*, *ṣ* are borr. from Ir.

One of the chief points of difference between Ind. and Ir. languages is the treatment of the Indo-Eur. groups of consonants *\*tt(h)*, *\*dd(h)*, which at a pre-Aryan stage became *tʰt(h)*, *dʰd(h)*. In Ir. these groups resulted in *st*, *zd*, while in Ind. *tʰt(h)*, like the old *tst(h)*, became *tt(h)*, and *dʰd(h)* became *dd(h)*, at any rate in some cases.

Only a few words containing such groups are met with in Kafirī; but the treatment seems to conform to that found in Skr. Thus Kati *pr'ēnəm* "I give" (Skr. *pra-dā-*) has the past *ptā* "gave" (Skr. *pra-tta-*), Waig. *pratoi*, Ashk. *pr'ōtā*, *plātə*, cf. GB. *ṣla* "give", *ṣlites* "gave him" (LSI.). Pras. *uphlēgo*, *aphlēgo* "thou gavest" (LSI.) has been influenced by the present stem, cf. *ophliu* "give". Also *\*-patta-* "fallen" has become *ū-ptā* in Kati, and a present *ū-pr'ēnəm* "I fall" has been formed on the pattern of *pr'ēnəm*<sup>1</sup>.

Other instances are Kati *cit* "intention, mind", Lumsden "*chit*" "will" (Skr. *citta-*); Waig. *ūtula* "high", Lumsden "*ūtilláh*" (Skr. *uttha-*, cf. Pash. *uthāl*, Kal. *hūtala* etc.); Kati *vutināsəm* "I am standing", Waig. *utinom*, Ashk. *utimestəm* (Skr. *utthita-*); Waig. *utā* "to place", Lumsden "*ūtāwen*" (Skr. *utthāpaya-*).

The only certain instance of *dd(h)* is Kati *bidī* "mind"; but this may be a loan-word. Kati *vudēšā* "guest, foreigner", Waig., Ashk. *vidiṣa* might be derived from *\*ud-deśya-* (cf. Av. *uz-daiṇhu-*). But it is more probable that we ought to compare it with Skr. *videśya-* (cf. Shina *ōšū?*), and that the *d* has been preserved, as in Kati *vidar-* "to fear" (Skr. *vi-dṛ-*), through the association with the uncompounded *dēš* "village", still in use in Waig. (cf. *Kām-dēš* in Bashgal). If Kati *vudra-* (Bragr. *undra-*) "to fly", Lahnda *uddrār* has anything to do with Skr. *ud-dī-*, the phonetic conditions are not clear.

The only certain instance of the treatment of Aryan

<sup>1</sup> In a similar way in Sindhi *wuṭhā* and *vasiā* are used without distinction as part. to *vas-* "to rain" and "to dwell".

*žd* is Ashk. *šäris* "16" (Skr. *ṣoḍaśa*). Possibly Kati *piždā*, *pidā* "avalanche" may be connected with Skr. *pīḍā*- "damage, devastation", cf. Khow. *rešt* "id.": Skr. *riṣṭi*- "injury, damage", and Waig. *trōs* "id.": Skr. *trāsa*- "terror, anxiety".

According to Meillet (*Les Dialectes Indo-Européens*, pp. 63 ff.) an Indo-Eur. *a* is generally preserved in an interior syllable in Skr., but lost in Ir. We have e. g. Skr. (nom.) *duhitā* "daughter", but Av. *duγda*, Gathic *dugədā* (disyllabic). Pras. *lüštu*<sup>k</sup> (LSI. *luštu*) must represent an old *\*dužhitā*, and not *\*dugdhā*. Probably also Kati, Waig. *jū*, Ashk. *zū* should be derived from *\*d<sup>u</sup>žū*, which is developed from *dužhitā* in the same way as Torwalak *dhū*, Marathi *dhūv* etc. from *\*duhuā* < Skr. *duhitā*.

Similarly we have Skr. *tamisra*- "darkness", but Av. *tašra*- (prob. < *\*tamsra*-). The *i* is preserved in Waig. *trämiš*, *tramaš* (note the palatalization of the *s*), cf. Kati *tremš-vār* "evening", Bashg. "*tremchuk*" "lamp-lighting time", Kal. "*tramashúng*" "darkness". The metathesis of *tamisra*- to *\*tramisa*- is in agreement with Dard phonetic laws.

Kati *ptā* "fell" should be derived from *\*patta-ka*-, and not from Skr. *patita*-. But in Skr. also the distribution of *seṭ*- and *aneṭ*-forms is often capricious.

In this connection we may mention that Kati *drigēr'* "long", Ashk. *drigalä*, Waig. *dṛgalo* (Skr. *dīrgha*-, but Av. *darəya*-) agree with Skr. in the treatment of *ṛ*-.

The Kafir languages have *l* in about the same cases as Skr. E. g. Kati *šāl* "cattle-pen": Skr. *sālā*-; Kati *lūi* "blood": Skr. *lohita*-; Kati *luk* "light", Ashk. *lev*: Skr. *laghu*-; Kati *pul* "a grain", Ashk. *pol*: Skr. *phala*-; Kati *mūl* "dirty": Skr. *mala*-; Kati *nīlā* "blue": Skr. *nīla*-; Waig. *vēl* "year": Skr. *vela*-; Waig. *lā*-, *lāvr'*- "to find", Ashk. *lēv*-. Skr. *labh*-; Waig. *vīli*- "to melt", Ashk. *vīli*-. Skr. *vi-lī*-; Waig. *lāž* "shame": Skr. *lajjā*-, etc. Some of these words are probably later loan-words from Ind. If Kati *nyilā* "lake" is connected with Skr. *nīra*- "water", Pahari (Bhadrawahi) *nīrū* "river", we have an example of Kafir *l* for Skr. *r*. On the other hand we have Kati

*myūr'* "price", but Waig. *mūlā*: Skr. *mūla*-; Kati *tur*- "to weigh", (with *r*, but *u* of special Ind. origin): Skr. *tul*-. In Kati *nār'* "valley, ravine", Ashk. *nār*, *nār*': Hindi *nālā* the original sound is probably *ḍ*, as in Kati *nār'i* "reed": Skr. *nādī*-, *nālī*-.

The Kafir languages possess cerebrals as Ind. It is not possible to recognize the simple, intervocalic *n*, because dental *n* also often becomes cerebralized. E. g. we find Kati *kār'* "blind", Ashk. *kārä*: Skr. *kāṇa*-; Kati *vr'āic*- "to sell", Ashk. *vārīts*-, *vanīts*:- Skr. *vanij*-; Kati *par'*, *pāno* "palm of the hand", Waig. *pr'ē*, *pār'*: Skr. *pāni*-; but also Kati *žir'*- "to kill", Waig. *jā*-, *žār'*:- Skr. *han*-; Kati *zār'*- "to know": Skr. *jñā*-; *štār'ə* "thief": Skr. *stena*-. But *ṇḍ* is kept apart from *nd*, e. g. Kati *munuk* "frog", Ashk. *muṇḍuk*: Skr. *maṇḍūka*-; Ashk. *āṇḍ* "penis": Skr. *aṇḍa*-; Waig. *lāṇḍ* "id.": Hindi *laṇḍ*; Kati *dun*, *duṇ* "handle", Waig., Ashk. *dōṇ*: Skr. *daṇḍa*-; Kati *kāṇ* "arrow", Waig. *kāṇ*, *kr'ā*, Ashk. *kaṇ*: Skr. *kāṇḍa*-; Kati *punyük* "abscess, boil": Lhd. *phuṇḍār* "to swell, inflate"; Kati *punu*, *punu* "calf of the leg", Waig. *punizō*, *pūrē*: Psht. (loan-word) *pəṇḍai*, Lahnda *pinnī*; Kati *gāṇa* "stem": Pash. *geṇḍū*; Kati *laṇə* "bald", Ashk. *leṇḍe*: Hindi *luṇḍā* "tailcropt, stripped of leaves". But Kati *gun* "smell", Waig. *gūn*, Ashk. *gōn*: Skr. *gandha*-; Kati *anārə*, *andār* "darkness", Ashk. *andarä*; Skr. *andha-kāra*-; Kati *kānē* "stem, trunk", Waig. *kana*, Ashk. *kandä*: Skr. *skandha*- (borr. in Badakshi-Pers. *kānda* "stem", cf. Mordvinian loan-word *kando* "umgefallener Baum"?).

Kati *nāt* "dance", Waig., Ashk. *nāt* are probably Ind. loan-words. But cf. Kati *laḍ*- "to lie", Waig. *lār*:- Skr. *laṭ*-, Pash. *laḍ*-; Kati *pālṭ*- "to roll": Skr. *luṭ*-, *luṭh*- (not from *\*palt*- = Prakrit *paḍ*-, Konow, l. c., p. 28). We find *r'* in *kār'ā* "bitter" < *\*kṛt*:- Skr. *kaṭuka*-, and in *kilyār'* "cheese" (loan-word?): Skr. *kilāṭa*-. In Kati *kaṭē* "straw of millet": Skr. *kaṭa*- "grass, Saccharum Sara" (?), and Kati *ace-paṭə* "eye-lid", Waig. *acē-poṭ*, Ashk. *atsi-paṭā*: Skr. *paṭa*-, *paṭṭa*- "cover, veil" (cf. Pers. *parda* "veil" < *\*partaka*-) we find *ṭ*. Cf. also Kati *guṭ* "wrist": Lahnda *guṭṭhī*.



We also find *t* in cases where Skr. has preserved *rt*, e. g. Kati *kṭā* "knife", Waig. *kaṭā*: Skr. *kartari-*, *kartṭṛkā-*, *kaṭṭāra-*; Kati *acūt* "in three days", Ashk. *atsōt* "id"., *nitsōt* "three days ago": Skr. *caturtha-*. But in the group *rt* the *t* has fallen out as in other intervocalic positions. E. g. Kati *kr'ā* "made": Skr. *\*kṛtaka-*; *mr'ā* "dead": Skr. *\*mṛtaka-*; Bashg. *kar'ā* "knife": Skr. *\*kṛtaka-* (?), cf. Torwalak "*kerah*"; Waig. *atər'* "day after to-morrow" < *\*-trta-*.

In some cases *ṣt* also becomes *t*. E. g. Kati *pṭī* "back", Waig. *yā-paṭī*, Ashk. *piṣṭī*: Skr. *prṣṭha-*; Kati *gōt* "barn": Skr. *goṣṭha-*; Kati *kāt* "branch": Skr. *kāṣṭha-*. Kati *dār'i*, *däyī* "beard", Waig. *dā*, *dər'ə*, Ashk. *dārī* must, like other modern Ind. forms, be derived from Skr. *dāḍhikā* < *damṣṭṛkā-*, and Ashk. *a-ṣōr* "five days hence" from *-ṣaṣṭha-*, (cf. Lhd. *verhār* "to wind": Skr. *veṣṭ-*, *raṣh* "field": Skr. *rāṣṭra-*).

Some of these words may be borrr., and the development is not carried through regularly; but it is decidedly of an Ind., and not of an Ir. character.

Further, groups containing an *r* as the second component are occasionally simplified. E. g. Kati *bəmāw* "wasp", Ashk. *bamā*, but Waig. *bramā*: cf. Skr. *bhramara-*; Kati *gət-*, *gər't-*, *gr'ət-* "to tie", Ashk. *gōt*, but Waig. *grōnt*: Skr. *grath-*, *grantha-*; Kati *gaṣ* "he-goat", Ashk. *gauṣ*, Pras. *gyōšū*, but Waig. *grōṣ*; Ashk. *puc* "flea", Waig. *prūc*<sup>1</sup>. Also the preposition Ashk., Kati *pa-*, *p-* is probably connected with Skr. *pra*, not with Ir. *pati*. Cf. Kati *pəmušt* "forgotten", Ashk. *pərmišt*, *pumišt*, Waig. *pramošt*: Skr. *pramṛṣṭa-*.

*Pt* regularly becomes *t* as in other Ind. languages. E. g. Kati *sut* "7" etc.; Ashk. *nōt* "granddaughter": Skr. *napti-*; Kati *pr'uišt* "bed", Waig. *prūšt* "bed, dream", Ashk. *prust*, *plus*: Skr. *prasupti-*. Even if the result is the same in some Ir. languages, e. g. in Par. (*hōt* "7"), the development has been different, Par. *ghīt* "taken"

<sup>1</sup> These words and Eastern Pash. *ḡlūc*, Par. *ruc* are connected with the Germanic forms, Engl. *flea* etc. Pash. Ø. *šiš*, L. *lašūk* point to Skr. *pluṣi-*, Khaw. *puluṣu*, Psht. *vrəṣa* (< *\*fruṣā-*, not *\*bruṣā-*).

having passed through the stages *\*giht* < *\*gr̥fta-*. In the same way *kt* becomes *t* in Kati *avətə* "hungry": Skr. *a-bhakta*-<sup>1</sup>.

The later Ind. transition from *d(h)y* into *j(h)* is met with in Waig. *buž-*, *buj-* "to awake": Skr. *budhya-*; Kati *mij* "middle", Waig. *məž*, Ashk. *məzō*: Skr. *madhya-*; Bashg. *purj-* "to recognize, think", Lumsden "*purojān*" "to comprehend", cf. Bashgarik "*pūrjā-*", Chilio *purzō-*, Shina *pārūž-* "to understand", Sindhi *purjh-* (*purdhō*): Skr. *pra-budhya-*.

The transition of *t(h)y* > *c* is found in Kati *tic* "true" < Skr. *tathya-*, cf. Romany *tacō*, and in Ashk. *vericū* "road" < Skr. *\*upa-rathyā-*.

This survey of a few of the phonetic features of the Kafir languages will have shown that in all but one or two points they agree with Skr. as against Old Ir., and that they have undergone some of the characteristic phonetic developments of the modern Ind. languages.

The vocabulary is also, as far as it can be analyzed, almost entirely Ind. It agrees especially with that of the neighbouring Dard languages, but shows no special connection with the adjoining Ir. dialects. I do not think that this distinctly Ind. character of the Kafiri vocabulary can be accounted for as being mainly the result of borrowings. Certainly Kafiri contains many loan-words, borrowed at widely different periods; but the paucity of "Islamic" loan-words shows the relative isolation of these tribes.

As may be expected, the vocabulary, like the phonology, shows some points of special resemblance with Ir.

If we look at the numerals, Kati, Waig. *K. ev* "1" reminds us of Av. *aēva-*. It may be borr. from Ir., or it may be an old inherited form; to my mind the latter alternative seems to be the more probable one. Waig. *Zh. ēk* is Ind., and Ashk. *ac*, Pras. *ipün* stand isolated.

<sup>1</sup> But Kati *avətin* "thirsty" < *\*āpa-ty̥ṣṇa-*, cf. Ashk. *tenīk* "thirsty". Also *kṣṇ* becomes *n* in Kati, Ashk. *tīn* "wine" < *tīkṣṇa-* "sharp, pungent", cf. Waig. *cukurā* "wine", *cukuralä* "sour": Skr. *cukra-* "vinegar".

We may note that also Pash., Khov. *ī* differs from the ordinar Ind. type. Kati etc. *ṣū* "6" resembles Skr. *ṣaṣ-*, and shows no trace of the Ir. initial (*x*)*šv-*. Kati *yanīts* "11", Ashk. *canīs* are formed in the same way as Av. *aēvandasa-*; but this is probably the original Indo-Ir. form (cf. Lat. *ūndecim* < \**oinomdekṃ*), and Skr. *ekādaśa-* is a secondary formation, which is represented in Waig. by *yāš* (cf. Pash. *yāi*, *žāi*, GB. *jāš*). At least the Ashk. form cannot be suspected of being borr. from Ir. Waig. *trūš* (cf. Pash. *trūi*, *ṭlūi*, GB. *ṭlaonš*) seems to correspond to Skr. *trayodaśa-*, not to Av. \**ṣridasa-*; but in Ir., too, we find Pers. *sēzdah* < \**ṣrayazdasa-*, Psht. *dyārlas* < \**draylas*. Kati *trīts*, Pras. *ciz* can be explained in both ways. Kati *štruits*, *štroäts*, *štrēts* "14" may be compared with Av. \**caṣrudasa-*, but, as Professor J. Bloch has pointed out to me, equally well with Skr. *caturdaśa-*, with the usual Dard metathesis into \**catrud*<sup>o</sup>. Waig. *cadēš*, Ashk. *tsadīs* (Pash. *cadē* etc.) < *caturdaśa-*. Pras. *cpults* has been influenced by *cpū* "4".

Ashk. *ṣāris* "16", Lumsden "*sullaish*" are derived from Skr. *ṣoḍaśa-* (cf. GB. *ṣurās*, Tirahi *xōla*, Eastern Pash. *ṣōr*). Kati *ṣets*, Waig. *ṣēš*, Pras. *uṣults* are probably secondary formations from *ṣū* etc. (cf. Western Pash. *ṣuī*, *chuī*, Shina *ṣoi*, etc.). Kati *nāts*, Pras. *nālts* "19" may be either Ind. or Ir.; but. Waig. *ēši*, Ashk. *osā*, *vesō* correspond to Skr. *ūnavimśati-* (cf. GB. *iniš*, Tir. *kune*). Kati *vətsə* "20", Waig. *viši* etc. show no trace of the nasalization in Skr. *vimśati-*; but this does not appear in any of the modern Ind. forms. Pras. *žibeze* "40" is probably derived from \**catvarśat-* (v. p. 50), cf. Av. *caṣwarəsatəm*, but Skr. *catvārimśat-*.

Regarding the ordinals it is impossible to decide whether *trī* in Kati *nutrī* "the day before yesterday", *atrī* "the day after to-morrow" corresponds to Skr. *tr̥tīya-* or to Av. *ṣritiya-*. Waig. *atər'* points to Skr. *tr̥ta-*. Kati *a-cūt* "in three days", and similar forms in the other dialects, correspond to Skr. *caturtha-*, not to Av. *tūirya-*, or other Ir. forms.



It will be observed that, generally speaking, the Kafir numerals are more closely related to the Skr. than to the Av. forms.

A few other words seem to agree with Ir.: Kati *kan-* "to laugh", Waig. *kan-*, Ashk. *kōn-*: Pers. *xandīdan*, Par. *khan-*; Kati *vr'ē-*, *vār'-* "to see", Waig. *vr'ē-*, Ashk. *vēr-*: Av. *vaēn-*; Kati *r'av-* "to reap": Yagnobi *rūp-* "to shear", Skr. *rup-* "to break"; but perhaps *r'av-* is related to Skr. *lū-* "to reap". Ashk. *drov-* "to reap" may be borr. from Pers. *durūdan*, *diravam*.

Over against these few and doubtful cases we have the overwhelming mass of purely Ind. words. It would take us too far to give a detailed list of such words, very many of which will be obvious to anyone who looks through Davidson-Konow's Bashgali Dictionary. I shall therefore merely give at random a few characteristic words not mentioned in the preceding pages:

Kati etc. *vaṣ* "rain": Skr. *varṣa-*; *yūv* "louse": Skr. *yūka-*; *bī* "grain": Skr. *bīja-*; *uṣe* "medicine": Skr. *oṣadhi-*; *vōv* "daughter-in-law": Skr. *vadhū-*; *pr'av-* "to reach": Skr. *prāp-*; *res-* "to low": Skr. *ras-*; *yiv-* "to copulate": Skr. *yabh-*; *met-* "to churn": Skr. *math-*; Ashk. *viēs* "willow": Skr. *vetasa-*; *murä* "sweet": Skr. *madhura-*; *sämär-* "to prepare, start": Skr. *sam-arth-*; Kati *māk-* "to escape", Waig. *muk-*, Ashk. *muc-*: Skr. *muc-*; Kati, Ashk. *šiv-* "to sew", Waig. *šuv-*: Skr. *siv-*.

Especially interesting are a few cases where Ind. and Ir. employ words from the same root, but with a difference in the form or meaning. In such cases Kafir always agrees with Ind. E. g.:

Kati <i>vosut</i> "spring"	Skr. <i>vasanta-</i>	Av. <i>vaṇhar-</i>
» <i>dyūm</i> "smoke"	» <i>dhūma-</i>	Pers. <i>dūd</i>
» <i>gūm</i> "wheat"	» <i>godhūma-</i>	Av. <i>gantuma-</i>
» <i>ṣiṇi</i> "horn"	» <i>śṛṅga-</i>	» <i>srvā-</i>
» <i>sū</i> "sun"	» <i>sūrya-</i>	» <i>hvar-</i>
» <i>amc-</i> "to dress",	» <i>ā-muc-</i>	» <i>paiti-maok-</i>
Waig. <i>amīc-</i>		
» <i>šaru</i> "autumn"	» <i>śarad-</i> "id."	» <i>sarəda-</i> "year".



If we turn to the morphological system of the Kafir languages, we cannot expect to find many traces of old features which can be distinguished as Ind. or Ir. Even originally such features were few, and the morphology of Kafiri has undergone radical changes.

The termination of the 2 pl., Kati *-ār'* (v. supra p. 49) is certainly derived from Vedic *-tana*, *-thana* (Konow, l. c., p. 37). The corresponding form in Pras. is *-en-o*, and in Waig. we find *viā-sē*, *viā-sē̃* "you beat" (*sē̃* < \**sathana*?). This termination is not known in Ir. Konow also derives the Kati absolutive in *-tī* from *-tvī* which is specifically Ind., and is used in the Shahbazgarhi inscription. The past part. *nišinā* and *tsinist* are formed with an *n* like Skr. *niṣaṇṇa-*, *chinna-*, cf. Av. *-šasta-*, *sista-*.

The termination of the 1 pl. *-masi*, from which are derived Kati, Waig., Ashk. *-miš*, Pras. *-mš-o*, is no doubt common to Ancient Ind. and Ir.; but we find no trace of it in later Ir. languages, while it is still in use in most Dard languages (cf. Pash. *-īs*, *-s*, Khow. *-s-i* etc.).

The Kati, Ashk. infinitive in *-ste*, Waig. *-sta*, cannot be compared with the comparatively late, and specifically Pers. infinitive in *-istan* (Konow, l. c., p. 38). Possibly it may be a compound with some nominal form of the root *sthā-*.

It is tempting to compare the present base in *n*, Kati *yü-n-um* "I eat", Ashk. T. *yūrem*, with the old medial participle, Av. *-ana-*, but Skr. *-āna-* with long vowel. But the preservation of intervocalic dental *n* in Kati makes this explanation dubious. The Waig. causative in *l* has parallels in Pashai and in Lahnda.

None of the nominal terminations in the Kafir languages can, so far as I can see, be used as criteria of their linguistic position. But the Kati genitive in *-ste*, *-stā* (e. g. *tuste* "thy") reminds us of Pash. K. *-st* (*tūst*). Other Pash. dialects, and also Kal. and Tir., have *-s*, which one would naturally derive from *-asya*. I do not think *-st* can in any way be connected phonetically with *-asya*, probably either some other element has been added to *-asya*, or we

have here an altogether different element (*-stha-*?). *-asya* is preserved in Waig. Zh. *taše-ba* "his".

The Kafiri pronouns as a whole present many difficulties. It is not easy to explain e. g. the different forms of the pers. pron. 1 sg. n. Kati *ūzə*, *vūts*, Bragr. *ū*, Waig. K. *aṇä*, Zh. *yē*, Ashk. *ai*, Pras. *unzū*. The Kati and Pras. forms can be derived from *\*ažham*, and probably the other forms also are corruptions of this word. The demonstrative pronouns, too, are varied, and differ much from those of the surrounding languages. Waig. *ali* "this" seems to be related to East. Pash. *elā* "this", Tir. *lē* "this, that".

One point deserves notice: The interrogative neuter pronoun "what", Kati *kai*, Waig. *kas*, Ashk. *kā*, has a *k* in accordance with Ind., not *c* as in Ir. On the other hand we find in Ashk. *tsēi* "who" (obl. *kō*) cf. Av. *ciš*, and *tsīt* "how many", cf. Pers. *cand*, Old Pers. *ciya-kara-* (< *\*ciyat-*), but Skr. *kiyat-*. (We have no reason to assume a transition from *ki-* into *ci*, *tsi* in Ashk.). Pras. "pseh" "what" seems inexplicable<sup>1</sup>.

I think this survey of Kafiri will have shown that it has far closer affinities with Ind. than with Ir. And while there is a gulf between Kafiri and the neighbouring Ir. languages, Psht., Par. and Minj., Kal. G B., and Pash. agree with Kafiri in many points of phonology and especially of vocabulary, and form a bridge connecting it with the purely Ind. languages.

Undoubtedly Kafiri stands in a somewhat isolated position, and has to some extent been influenced by Ir. at an early date. Perhaps the Kafirs have crossed the

<sup>1</sup> The resemblance between this strange form and Burushaski *bisan* is certainly accidental, like that between Waig. *yē* "I": Bur. *jē*, and Pash. K. *mōmā* "you", Kal. *mīmī*: Bur. *mah mai* "you yourselves". Prima facie it is possible that a pre-Aryan language connected with Bur. may have influenced Kafiri; but I am afraid it will be difficult to find any firm base for further comparisons. Grierson considers the Dard words for "iron", *cimar* etc., to be of Bur. origin; but a word of this kind may have been borr. both by Bur. and by Dard from some other source. Is *cimar*, Khow. *cumur*, connected with Turkish *timur*, *temir*?

Hindu Kush later than the other Ind. tribes. But they have lived in close contact with the north-western Ind. group, and their language is now essentially Ind. The result of this contact is such, that the north-western hill-languages of India now agree on many important points, chiefly in vocabulary and regarding the preservation of groups of consonants, and we may be justified in talking about a Dard group of languages, even if we do not consider it to be a separate branch of the Indo-Iranian family.

## KHOWAR.

The language of Chitral, Chitrali (*Cetrā'rī*) or Khowar (*Khovā'r*, *Khō<sup>u</sup>vā'r*), was not, strictly speaking, included in the group of languages which I intended to study. But one of the government servants in Bagh-i-Babur in Kabul was a Chitrali from *Terīc* under *Terīc Mēr*<sup>1</sup> who possessed a great store of Kh. folklore, and I thought it worth while to make myself acquainted with this interesting language, about which, after all, very little has been published. I wrote down quite a number of Kh. fairy-tales and songs. The songs were short and lyrical, the tales very long and complicated, many separate themes being interwoven.

On the way down, I had an opportunity of conversing for a short time in Peshawar with a native from Kala Drosh, on the southern border of Chitral; but there seems to be little dialectic variation, except as regards a few peculiarities of pronunciation (e. g. *cār* "4", *pānj* "5", *hors* "bear" for ordinary *cōr*, *pōnj*, *orts*).

<sup>1</sup> Acc. to Biddulph (Tribes of the Hindu Kush, p. 59) the word *mēr* is used in Kh. in the sense of "mountain". My informant only knew it in this place-name. At any rate it should be compared with Skr. *Meru*-, cf. the Shina name of Nanga Parbat: *Dia-Mir* „The Divine Mountain" (?). Prof. Konow suggests that *terīc* may be Skr. \**tirīc*- from *tiryañc*- "oblique, transverse", cf. *pratyañc*-: *pratic*-. (Caland, AO., IV, p. 9, mentions the f. *tirīcī*- from the Vādhūlasūtra.) According to the maps the geographical position of the mountain is one which would in Norway naturally earn for it the corresponding name "Tverfjellet".



Very characteristic of Kh. is its distinct and little fluctuating pronunciation, in which respect it stands in marked contrast to the neighbouring Kati language with its extremely oscillating pronunciation. The morphology, too, is easy and comparatively regular; and generally speaking Kh. is an easy language to learn. While the notation of Kati gave me a good deal of trouble after I had worked at the language for a long time, I was able to write down Kh. tales fairly easily after about a week.

It would seem that the different characteristics of these neighbouring languages are due to the historical conditions under which they have developed. While the Kafir languages developed their peculiarities during a very long period in undisturbed seclusion, Kh. may have been regularized through being adopted by immigrants who mixed with the original population. Sir G. Grierson (LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 3 and 133) considers that of all the Dard languages Kh. is the one most nearly related to the Ir. Ghalcha languages, and he thinks that the Kho's came from the north later than the other Dard tribes.

As explained above (pp. 50 ff.), I do not think that the Dard languages, apart from Kafiri, possess any Ir. features. The loss of the aspiration of voiced stops is of comparatively recent date. And the development of *sv*, *śv* into *sp*, *śp* which is regularly carried out in Kh. (e. g. *ispusār* "sister", *išpēru* "white", *išpaśūr* "father-in-law), and is also found in other Dard languages, in Kh. also affects *sm*, *śm* (e. g. *ispa* "we" < \**spa* < \**asva* < \**asma*-, *grīsp* "summer" < *grīśma*-). This development is not identical with the Ir. transition from *śv* to *sp*, which is not a feature of the south-western dialects (Pers.), nor of those in the north-east (Sak. and Wakhi), with which Kh. is most closely connected. On the other hand the transition is known already from the dialect of the Shahbazgarhi inscription of Asoka (e. g. *spasunam* "of the sisters", -*aspi* < \**asmi*, suff. of loc. sg.). Cf. also Kabuli-Pers. *ruspān* "rope" < *rismān*.

In fact Kh. is, on the whole, the most archaic of all



modern Ind. languages. It is with some astonishment that one hears a pure Skr. word like *ašru* "tear" from the mouth of an unlettered Chitrali. Kh. is the only Ind. language in which *śr* remains unaltered (cf. also *śrōn* "hip"). In addition, *rt*, *rd*, which have been assimilated everywhere else, except perhaps in the adjoining Kal., are kept (e. g. *hārdī* "heart", *gordōx* "ass": Skr. *gardabha*-, *bardōx* "axe": Skr. *vardh*- "to cut", *boṛt* "stone": Kati *vott*, Kurd. *bard*). The only group with *r* which has been assimilated is *rṣ*, where *r* is in a very weak position (*baṣ* "rain": Skr. *varṣa*-, but *prāṣ* "rib": Skr. *parśu*-, with the common metathesis of *r*, cf. Shina *prāṣi*).

Further the preservation of an intervocalic *t* as *r* (through *ḍ*, e. g. *bišir* "20", *šor* "100", *sēr* "bridge") is a very archaic feature, with parallels only, to some extent, in Shina, some Kohistani dialects and Romany.

The only strange feature in the phonetic development of Kh. is that of *d*- into *j*- in some cases: *jū* "2", *još* "10", *joṣ*- "to see", *žūr* "daughter". The only explanation I can offer is, that the *d*- has been palatalized through the influence of the palatal *ś* in *daśa*-, *darś*-, and owing to the *i* in *duvi* (Shahbazgarhi), *duhitā*. *žūr*, instead of *\*jūr*, has been influenced by *žau* "son". Cf. Badakhshi Pers. *jūšīdan* < *dōšīdan* "to milk".

In the field of morphology we find remains of old suffixes in the termination of the abl. *-ār* (< *\*ātō*), and of the instr. *-en* (< *-ena*), and in the nom. pl. (of inanimate things) *-ēn* (< *-āni*). Among the verbal forms we may note *asum*, *asus*, *asur* "I am" etc. (*\*asami*, *\*asasi*, *\*asati*), and the distinction between the primary suffix in *asusi* "we are" (< *\*asamasi*), and the secondary in *asitam* "we were" (< *\*-ma*).

Very interesting are the imperatives 2 sg. *det* "give" (< *daddhi*, cf. *bat-im* "I bind" < *baddha*-), *ganē(h)* "take" (< *grhṇāhi*), 3 sg. *diyār* "may he give" (< *dadātu*), *gaṇār* "may he take" (< *grhṇātu*). Possibly traces of the augment are preserved in some irregular verbs; e. g. *bōm* "I can": *o-betam* "I could"; *brium* "I die": *o-britai* "he died";

*nēim* "I take out"; *o-nēitam* "I took out"; *šēr* "it is" (< *šete*): *o-šoi* "it was" (< *ašayat*): *žibom* "I eat": *o-yotam* "I ate".

The vocabulary contains several Skr. words not found in other Ind. dialects; e. g. *vešū* "arrow": Skr. *iṣu-*; *ai* "serpent": Skr. *ahi-*. In some cases we find words in Kh. which have their counterparts only in Vedic. E. g. *žau* "son": Skr. *yahu-* (acc. to Naigh. = *apatija-*, acc. to Sāy. to RV., VIII, 60, 13 = *putra-*); *šümēnī* "rope": RV. *syūman-*; *hārdī* "heart": AV. *hārdi-*; *pulušu* "flea": RV. etc. *pluši-*, but Waig. *prūc*, Shina *prīžu*; *bren-* "to shear": RV. *bhrī-* "to injure, hurt"?

Especially interesting are the Kh. words which correspond to words only mentioned by the grammarians and lexicographers. E. g.:

*oç* "light blue": Skr. Lex. *akṣa-* "blue vitriol" (cf. Pers. *xašīn* "blue", Av. *axšaēna-* "dark-coloured"?).

*aṇ, āṇ* "mountain": Skr. Lex. *aṇi-* "the point of a needle or of a sharp stake, corner of a house, etc." Cf. Norw. *tind, pigg* "peak, mountain", originally "spike, pinnacle".

*kas-* "to wander about": Skr. Naigh. Dhātup. *kas-* "to go, move".

*kumā* "whore": Skr. Lex. *kumbhā-*, cf. Av. *xumba-* "pathicus".

*chān* "leaf": Skr. Lex. *chādana-*.

*thuru* "spitting": Skr. Lex. *thūthū-* "imitative sound of spitting", cf. Shina *thū* "saliva".

*diṣt* "span": Skr. Lex. *diṣti-* "a kind of measure of length", cf. Shina *dit, diṣt*, Av. *diṣti-*.

*pūli* "rotten", "addled": Skr. Lex. *pūlya-* "empty or shrivelled grain of corn", cf. Marathi *pol*.

*bil* "cover of a pot": Skr. Dhātup. *vil-* "to cover".

*berti* "quail": Skr. Lex. *vartikā-*.

*bōik* "bird": Skr. Naigh. *vāya-*.

*yōr* "sun": Skr. Lex. *aru-*.

*vəznū* "garlic": Skr. Lex. *uṣṇa-* "onion".

*siri* "barley": Skr. Lex. *sītya-* "corn, grain".

*hon* "inundation": Skr. Lex. *hanu-* "anything which destroys life".

Finally we may mention in this connection two words

not found in Skr., but existing in other Indo-Eur. languages: Kh. *bispī* < \**vaspi*- "wasp" (cf. Waig. *vašpīk*, and the words mentioned AO., I, p. 278); *jāmīž* "twin", which cannot be compared with Skr. *yama*-, because *y*- becomes *ž*- in Kh., but seems to be connected with Lat. *geminus* etc., from the root \**gem*-.

If we try to determine the position of Kh. within the Dard group of languages, we find that it is separated from Kafiri by many isoglots, not only in cases where Kafiri differs from all the rest of the Dard languages, but also in the treatment of *nt*, *v*- etc. Nor does the vocabulary of Kh. show any special relationship to Kafiri.

Kal. is closely related to Kh., but on the other hand agrees in many points with Kafiri. Possibly it is rather a mixture of, than a connecting link between Kh. and Kafiri.

With the Pash.-GB. group Kh. has no special connection, apart, perhaps, from the employment of the root *sī*- as an auxiliary.

With Shina, and to some extent with the Kohistani dialects, which are closely related to Shina, Kh. shares some phonetic characteristics, e. g. the transition from *nt*, *nd* > *n*, from *v*- > *b*-, and the retention of *-t*- in some form. The transition from *v*- > *b*- is also found in Kal. and in Tir. (which on the whole agrees more closely with Kohistani than with Pash.). This north-western group of languages with *b*- separates Lahnda and the other languages of the plains which have *v*, from Pash., GB., and Kafiri. And in its turn it is being separated from the westernmost offshoot of the eastern languages with *b*-, viz. Western Pahari and Rambani-Siraji, by the intervening Kashm. At any rate, phonetically there is no very wide gulf between Kh. and Shina, as asserted by Kuhn (Album Kern, p. 221). Moreover traditions and historical evidence indicate that Chitral always had more communication with the Shin country and with Kohistan, than with the Kabul region, through the nearly impassable Kunar valley which was infested by the wild Kafir tribes.



Kh. also shows striking similarities with Shina in vocabulary. Only a complete list of the special agreements would conclusively prove the connection between the two languages; but some characteristic examples will suffice to indicate the relationship. E. g. Kh. Sh. *khōi* "cap"; Kh. *ponḡ* "foot": Sh. *pōṅko* "footstep"; Kh. *mīk* "urine": Sh. *mīkē*; Kh. *pažāl* "herdsman": Sh. *pāyālu*, Garwi *payāl*; Kh. *šilōx* "tale": Sh. *šilōk*; Kh. *iskīm* "silk": Sh. *sikīm*; Kh. *marestān* "slave": Sh. *mārīstān*; Kh. *mraç* "mulberry": Sh. *marōç*; Kh. *tul* "fat": Sh. *thūlū*; Kh. *pilīli* "ant": Sh. *phīlīli*; Kh. *šargū* "dung": Sh. *šārgū*; Kh. *prāš* "rib": Sh. *prāši*; Kh. *gaḍēri* "mad": Sh. *gaḍērū*; Kh. *lōv* "fox": Sh. *lōi*; Kh. *cumutkir* "young woman": Sh. *cūmātkīr*, Bur. "choomūtker"; Kh. *keḷi*: Sh. *kārēlu*, Bur. "kārēlo" (?)<sup>1</sup>.

It is probable that several of these words have been borrr., either by Kh. or by Sh.; but at any rate they show that the two languages must have been in close touch with each other.

In order to demonstrate the isolated position of Kh. Grierson (LSI., VIII, 2, p. 133) gives a list of 24 Kh. words which differ from those of other Dard languages. Several of them are borrr. from Ir., such as *sor* "head", *istōr* "horse", *šīrīn* "sweet" etc. Others like *asur* "he is", *žau* "son", *šut* "sour" are good old Ind. words, and a few, like *māš* "husband", *bort* "stone" have corresponding forms in other Dard languages. In some cases we find that the other Dard languages do not all use the same word. There remain only a few words, in respect of which all the other Dard languages quoted in the list agree as against Kh. It is not surprising that such cases should occur, and the list might certainly be added to; but I do not think it goes far to prove that Kh. has been thrown in as a wedge at a comparatively recent date, separating the eastern and western groups of Dard

<sup>1</sup> Common to Kh. and Burushaski are also Kh. *kipīni* "spoon": Bur. "kuppun", but Sh. *khāpāi*; Kh. *buk* "throat": Bur. "book"; Kh. *dori* "large spoon": Bur. "dōri".



dialects. In fact, I do not think there is any important point in which Sh., Kafiri and Pash. agree as against Kh.

But even if we consider Kh. to be an entirely Ind. language, and having no special genetic connection with Ir., we must admit that it has been influenced, as is only natural, by its Ir. neighbours to the north and west.

But I do not think that this influence has affected the phonetic and morphological system of Kh. to any extent. The development of spirants ( $kh > x$  in *mux* "face",  $-g > \gamma$  in *noγor* "town",  $t > *δ > r$  in *sēr* "bridge") may be due to Ir. influence; but it is quite possible that it is a purely internal development<sup>1</sup>.

The only certain instance of Ir. influence on Kh. morphology are the numerals 11—19. While all other Dard languages have preserved the old forms (e.g. Kati *yanīts* "11", *dīts* "12"), Kh. and Kal. have adopted the same system which is found in the Ir. Pamir dialects (e. g. Kh. *još-ī* "11", *još-jū* "12": Shughni *δīs-at-yīw*, *δīs-at-δīo<sup>w</sup>n* etc.).

The vocabulary of Kh. has been subjected to strong Ir. influence from different sources. The modern Pers. loan-words are of course numerous, but of no special interest. Among the other loans from Ir. there is a small, but linguistically important group of words which are not found in any of the modern neighbouring languages, or whose phonetic form shows them to be derived from some unknown, possibly Middle-Ir. source, or from different sources. (Several of these comparisons have already been made by Tomaschek, *Centralas. Stud.* II). E. g.: Kh. *harēn* "mirror" < *\*āδēn*: Pers. *āyīna*, Bal. *ādēn*.

» *nīmēž* "prayer": Pers. *namāz*.

» *caxur* "spinning-wheel": Pers. *carx* "wheel".

» *γrānu* "pregnant": Pers. *girān* "heavy", Soghd. *γ<sup>i</sup>rān*.

» *žār* "poison": Pers. *zahr*, Turfan Pehl. *žahr*.

» *vraznī* "pillow" < *\*βarznī*: Pers. *bāliš*, Av. *barəziš*-, Bal. *barzī* "bag, cloth covering for a bundle", borrr. in

Brahui *barzī* "pillow", Skr. *upa-barhaṇī*- "covering".

» *frāx* "wide": Pers. *farāx*, Pehl. *frūh*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. placenames like *Ašnaγar* Hashtnagar, and *Naghar* in Mohmand territory.

Kh. *cat* "pool, lake", poss. from an earlier form of Wakhi *cal* "id."<sup>1</sup>, cf. Av. *cāt* "well", Pers. *cāh*. From this latter word is probably borrr. Kh. *ce<sup>h</sup>* "well".

- » *zērc* "yellow" is borrr. from Ir., cf. Pers. *zard*, Shughni *zērd*. The form from which the Kh. word has been borrr. must have been something like *\*zērt<sup>i</sup>*, cf. Bal. *kārc* "knife", Shughni *kārc* "steel" < *\*kārti*.

Other apparently Ir. words, but of uncertain origin are:

Kh. *xatan* "house", cf. Gabri *xada*, Pers. *kada*.

- » *duvarth* "door", cf. Old Pers. *duvarθi* "portico".
- » *supuk* "hoof": Av. *safa*-, Skr. *śapha*-.
- » *vrazun* "wing": Psht. *vazr*, Minj. *wāzərgá*, Oss. *bazur*, Orm. *bazar*, Pers. *bāl* (< *\*barz* < *\*bazr*-?).
- » *mēnū* "guest" < *\*mēhn*- < *\*maiθmn*?, cf. Pers. *mihmān*, Psht. *mēlmə*, Av. *maēθman*-.

Probably *druxum* "silver" has also been borrr. from Greek. through Ir.<sup>2</sup>.

But the greater number of the correspondences between Kh. and Ir. are with the Pamir dialects, especially Wakhi. In some cases Kh. has evidently borrr. from Pamir:

Kh. *xēl* "sweat":

W. *xil* < *\*xvaida*-.

- » *rigiṣ* "beard": » *reṣiṣ* (Hjuler: *ryiṣ*, *rgiṣ*), Pers. *rīṣ* etc.
- » *andau* "fever": » *andau* < *\*hantāpa*-.
- » *vōr* "smell": » *vūl* < *\*βōd* < *\*baudi*-.
- » *šontū* "raven": » *šönd*, cf. Oss. *sunth*. Sak.
- » *verkū* "lamb": » *vurk*. [*śsunda*-.
- » *tapār-zing* "battle-axe": » *tipār*, Pers. *tabar-zīn*.
- » *xora* "mill": » *xudārg*, Par. *xēra* etc. (< *\*xvat-ara*-, not *\*xvarta*-<sup>0</sup>).
- » *rōxnī* "live coal": » *raxnīg* "fire", Sangl. *rōṣnai*.
- » *sor* "head": Ishk. *sār*, *sur*, Zeb. *sōr*.
- » *kovōr* "pigeon": Yd. *kowū* < *\*kowōd*. The *v* shows that the Kh. word cannot be normally developed from Skr. *kapota*-.

<sup>1</sup> But cf. also Pers. *cāl* "fovea".

<sup>2</sup> Is also Sh. and Bur. *guṣpūr* "prince" borrr. from some Ir. source, cf. Turfan Pehl. *vīspūhr*?

Kh. *rošti* "daylight": Sangl. *rušt*, but also Torwalak *žut* "morning" < *rušt*, Bashk. *ret*, Shina *lūštaiki* "to-morrow"<sup>1</sup>.

» *lū-* "to say": Shughni *low-* (?).

» *lāšt* "plain": Pers. *dašt*. Kh. has borr. from Yd. or some other dialect with *l* < *δ*.

In other cases it is difficult to decide which way the borrowing has taken place, or whether both Kh. and the Pamir dialects may have borrowed the words from some common source.

Kh. *doγū'r* "finger-nail":

» *šangū'r* "entrails":

» *pāz* "breast":

» *dzāx* "thorn":

» *bizbār* "vulture":

» *našk* "beak":

» *uxā'r* "ladder":

» *vāž* "hatchet":

» *cidīn* "brass-pot":

W. *digø'r*.

» *šingū'r*

» *püz*.

» *zax*

» *bispiür*.

» *nüick*, Sar. *nüisk*.

» *waxā'r*.

» *wajāk*.

» Ishk. *cudan*.



Some words are found in many languages of the Hindu Kush, both on the Ind. and on the Ir. side. E. g. Kh. *šapik*, „bread”, Bur. *capik*, W. *šapik*, Sar. *xpik*, Shughni *šapík* "bread eaten at festivals". Pers. *xapak* "id." is probably of Pamir origin, as the *x* can only be explained on that supposition.

In several cases it appears that the Hindu Kush dialects on both sides have preserved old words which have disappeared in other Ind. or Ir. languages. We may mention Kh. *tūrt* "a ford", W *tüirt* (not necessarily borrowed), Skr. *tīrtha-*; Kh. *kōγ* "wild dog", Sh. *kō*, W. *kīk*, Sar. *kauj*, Skr. *koka-*; Pashai *vyal* "night", Kumauni *byāl* "evening", Chilis *biyāli* "yesterday", Sh. *bālā* (Gurezi *byālē*), Bashkarik *žāl*, and on the Ir. side Yaghn. *wiora* "night" (Tomaschek), Shughni *biyā'r* "yesterday", Yazgh. *biyē'r*. I am not able to unravel the nature of the connection between these words, nor of that between Kh. *pīū* "shoulder-blade", Sh. *phyāvū* (*phyōlū*, "shoulder")

<sup>1</sup> Prob. Ind., cf. Skr. *ruśat-* "shining, bright".



Kashm. *phyok*<sup>u</sup>, Pashai *pī*, Romany *phiko*, and W. *fiák*, Shughni *fyak* (also Kurd. *pāwl*, *pil* "shoulder"), nor that between this group of words and Kh. *phī* "wooden spade", W. *péi* "shovel", Sar., Ishk. *féi*, Shughni *fe*, Par. *phī* etc.

I may also mention another word which shows that the Aryan languages on both sides of the Hindu Kush have influenced each other.

In Kh. the same verb, infin. *dik*, 1 sg. preter. *phretam* is used both in the sense of "giving" and "beating". The same is the case with Gawar-Bati *ḡla* (imper.), Sh. of Chilas *deh*, and with Tirahi *dē*. Probably we have to do with the roots (*pra*)-*dā*- and -*dhā*-<sup>1</sup>.

An exact parallel to this is found in Sar. where we find *ḡādao* "to give" and "to beat", the only divergence being in the past part. *ḡādj* "given", but *ḡāḡj* "beaten". In most other Pamir dialects, in Par. and in the eastern Tajik dialects, we find similar relations between the two verbs. But the phonetic questions are so complicated that I shall not enter into them here. In some languages there also appears to have been borrowing from Tajiki. It is only necessary to note that there must be a connection between the strikingly parallel developments in the Ind. and Ir. Hindu Kush languages.

In many cases the Pamir dialects, and especially W., have evidently borrowed from Ind. Some of the loans are recent, and the words have probably passed through the Persian of Afghanistan: E. g. Shughni *jōr* "well in health", *nājōr* "unwell", *caukye* "chair" etc.

Then there is a series of words which seem to be Ind.; but whose source it is difficult to determine: E. g. W. *kōnd* "wife": Skr. *kāntā*-; *ramōt* "ruminating": Skr. *romantha*-; *ckər* "partridge": Skr. *cakora*-; W. *dūr* "belly", Ishk., Zeb. *dēr* reminds us of Shina *dēr*, and Shgh. *kē'c* "belly" of Pash. etc. *kūc*. With W. *žütr* "thread" cf. Waig. *žütr*

<sup>1</sup> Also Skr. *lāgaya*- "to fix" shows the same semasiological development. V. the examples given by Bloch (*Langue Marathe*, p. 399), e. g. Mar. *lāvṇem* "placer sur", Kashm. *lāy*- "frapper" etc., to which may be added Ashk. *lānum* "I beat".



“cord” (Pash. *žūtr* “single hair”?). Shgh. *šand* “lip” is certainly, like Psht., Par. *šund*, borr. from Ind., cf. Kh. *šūn*, Hindi *suṇḍ* etc. Cf. also Zeb. *cut* “small”: Hindi *coṭā*; Ishk. *kāndah* “thorn”: Skr. *kaṇṭa-*.

I also suspect Zeb. *bruḡ* “birch” of being borr. from Dard, like Psht. *barḡ* “birch-bark”. This would both explain the *b-*, the transposition of the *r*, and the *j* (v. Geiger, Etym. d. Afghan., p. 29). An original Zeb. word corresponding to Skr. *bhūrja-* would probably be something like *\*varz* (cf. Oss. *bärz*). Shina *jōḡi* “birch”, (*jūḡ* “birch-bark”) is derived through *\*jōḡ < \*jūḡ* from *\*brūj- < bhūrj-*.

From Kh. are borr.: Sangl. *patak* “eyelid”: Kh. *paṭok*; Shgh. *riṣt*, *rīṣt* “avalanche”: Kh. *rēšt < Skr. riṣṭi-*; W., Ishk. *kapāl* “head, skull”: Kh. *kapāl*; W. *šivan*: Kh. *šimēni*; W. *šapt* “wolf”, Sar. *xiṭp < śapta-*: Kh. *šapīr < \*śapita-* “cursed” (cf. Kh. *pešīru* “flour”: Skr. *piṣṭa-*); W. *pun* “palm of the hand”, Shgh. *bēn*: Kh. *pān*; W. *trāc* “bitter”: Kh. *trok*.

The close connection between Kh. and the Pamir dialects, and especially W., which we have tried to demonstrate, is easy to understand on account of the geographical situation of the languages in question. Perhaps a comparatively recent immigration from Badakhshan into Chitral, an immigration known to local tradition, may have brought Pamir words into Kh. The disappearance of the distinction between the genders in Kh. may also be due to such influence. On the other hand Chitral has always been a richer and more populous district than Wakhan, and this may explain the influence which Kh. has exerted on W.

I am inclined to think that this influence has been stronger than the loan-words mentioned lead us to suspect. Tomaschek (p. 827) is certainly right in deriving W. gen. plur. *spā* “of us” from Kh. *iṣpa* “we, us”. The resemblance can scarcely be fortuitous, considering the other connections between Kh. and W. But the word is not, as he supposes it to be, developed from *sva-*; it represents the Ind. base *asma-*, with *sp < sv < sm*. The initial

vowel was lost, and *i* is secondary as in *ispusār* "sister", *išpēru* "white". The W. form was borrowed when Kh. still had \**spa*.

The pers. pron. 2 pl. is now in Kh. *pisa* "you". This is the form I always heard, and is the one given in the LSI. and by Munshee Feroze Din (Handbook on Chitrali and Gilgiti Languages). The older sources, however, Hayward, Leitner, Biddulph, Davidson and O'Brien have *bisa*, and similar forms. This is evidently the more ancient form, which has recently been influenced by the *p* in *ispa*. *bisa* in its turn must be explained as a development from \**bsa* < \**usa* < \**vasa*-, a stem formed on the analogy of *asma*-<sup>1</sup>.

Now corresponding to *spā* "our" we find that W. has *sav* "your", which is also a form that cannot be explained as coming from Ir. It may therefore be suggested that *sav* has been borr. from Kh. \**usa*, with metathesis of the *v*, which was part of a difficult group of consonants. Similar cases of metathesis are known in W., cf. *yark* "work" < *kār* (Soghd. *ark*<sup>a</sup>, cf. Junker, Sitz. Heidelb. A. W., ph.-hist. Kl., 1914, 14, p. 23).

The nom. *sak(išt)* "we", *sā(išt)* "you" are difficult to explain; but the latter may have been formed from the genitive on the model of *yav* "their", *yāišt* "they". Here *-v* is the old case suffix *-byō*, and *sav* was felt to be a similar form. We must remember that the personal pronouns in W. are, on the whole, irregular in their formation. The oblique form *maž* "me" may be derived from \**mazya*- (cf. Skr. dat. *mahyam*), and from the nominatives *wuz* "I", *tu* "thou" are formed the genitives *žü* < \**azya*, *ti* < \**tuya*, cf. *xat* "self", gen. *xü* < \**xvaya*. *tao* < *tava* is used, not as a gen., but as casus obliquus. Within this varied crowd of pronominal forms even foreign words might have been adopted. At any rate it is the only explanation I can find to account for the W. forms mentioned.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly \**spa* < *yusma*- was lost on account of its similarity with \**spa*.

But the Kh. influence must have been very strong in order to impress pronominal forms on W., and we may ask if it is only an accident that Kh., the Ind. language which has best preserved the groups of consonants with *r* as second component, and W., which occupies the same position within the Ir. family, are close neighbours. We know how unstable the old Ir. groups of spirants + *r* have been, and that especially *ʃr* has been replaced and assimilated in the most divergent ways in the modern Ir. tongues. Only W. has saved the situation by retracing its own steps, thus differentiating the sounds which were in danger (e. g. *putr* "son" < *puʃra-*, *sökr* "red" < *suxra-*). In W. we certainly have a reaction, and not a retention of the original occlusives. The prefix *fra-*, being unaccented, has become *ra-*; but *\*fruc-* "flea" has resulted in *pric* "bug", *frav-* "to wash" in *puru-* (cf. Gr. Ir. Ph. I, 2, p. 303. W. *prüt* etc. "before, formerly" < *\*fr-*?).

The question whether the influence of Kh. has been active in this development peculiar to W., and in what manner such an influence might conceivably have worked, is an interesting problem, but one which is difficult to solve.

The result of this survey is that Kh. and the Pamir languages show distinct traces of long and close contact; but that the clearly defined line of demarcation between Ind. and Ir. is in no way blurred on this part of the linguistic frontier.

## PASHAI.

The Pashai (*Pašai'*) language was one of those which I had the best opportunity of studying. Previously it was known only through the vocabularies of Burnes, Leech and Raverty, and through the account given in LSI., VIII, 2, pp. 89 ff.

With the kind assistance of Sardar Muhammad Zaman Khan I got hold of a young boy, Abdur Rashid, who had just come to Kabul from his native village Laurovan



(*Laurovān*)<sup>1</sup> on the upper Tagau, and who had a very slight knowledge of Pers. in addition to his Pashai mother-tongue. I worked with him for several months. Though not very intelligent, he became, when trained, a useful informant, and proved a real mine of Pash. songs and tales.

The Pashais are a singing people *par excellence*, and they have retained some sort of national culture, at any rate in the more remote parts of their country, where they have not been too strongly subjected to the levelling Pers. influence.

They are generally gay and pleasure-loving people, fond, not only of music, but also of flowers, which they cultivate outside, and sometimes on the roofs of their houses. They have also got names for comparatively many flowers in their language, while the Kafirs generally only know the single word *pūš* "flower", and an Ashkun man who was questioned about the names of flowers, declared: "How *can* we have a name for a thing we do not eat?"

The Pash. songs are lyrical or epical (so-called *hananī*'s "killing-songs"). In the autumn, after finishing the harvesting, the young people go about from village to village, singing the new songs of the year. The lyrical songs chiefly come from Özbin, and are composed in the dialect of that valley. The reason — I was told — is that the Özbinis neglect their prayers, and are in consequence visited by fairies, who give them the inspiration for their songs. Even people from other valleys try to imitate

<sup>1</sup> According to Abdur Rashid there is a cave just above Laurovan, called *Kalatarīkūc*, excavated "by kafirs, not by God", and containing seven rooms. His grandfather had seen lots of statues (*buts*) there; but they had been destroyed, and now only their feet remained, "a whole regiment" of them. They were painted, white, blue and red, and made of a material lighter than stone, probably plaster. He had himself seen an immense log of wood with carvings of *buts*, which had, however, been burnt some time ago. — This cave seems to be the remains of a *vihāra*, showing how far Buddhism once penetrated into the wilds of Kohistan.

the Özbin dialect in their lyrical compositions, the actual result of course being a mixture of local forms, real Özbin words, and false hyper-Özbinisms. But I was able to satisfy myself that real Özbin forms were preserved, at least to some extent, in the songs recited by my informant from Laurovan. There are also special songs composed by women, which a man would not sing if any woman were present.

My second Pash. informant came from the extreme north-western part of Pash., and indeed of Indian-speaking territory, from the village of *Sāṭha* "The Village" (in Pers. *Kohnadeh*) close to Gulbahar, where I more or less kidnapped him, and took him with me to Kabul. Later on I got hold of a man who spoke a very similar dialect, and claimed to be a native of the Shutul valley. This was denied by the Parachis who came from this place; but at any rate his home cannot have been far from Satha.

In Kabul I also had an opportunity of collecting short vocabularies of the dialects of Ishpi and Iskyen near Laurovan, of Özbin and of Najil (*Neṣṣelām*, locally *Nāṣulō'm*) in the Alishang valley. In Jallalabad and in Peshawar on my way home, I met people from Kachur-i-Sala, Mangu and Nirlam in the Alingar valley, from Charbagh in Laghman, from Kunar, Darra-i-Nur and Waigel (probably the lowest part of that valley), who spoke different dialects of Pash.

I may also mention that in Kabul I met a boy who professed to come from Ghēin in Pachaghan (Darra-i-Ghain of the Survey map). His language was a fantastically perverted "secret language", its foundation was, as one would expect, a dialect closely related to the Laurovan one, but agreed in some respects with Satha. He insisted upon this jargon being the real language of his village, and did not understand, or feigned in a very convincing way not to understand, the dialect of the Satha and Laurovan men, with whom he conversed in Pers.

It will be seen that the Pash. language is more wide-

spread than is indicated in the LSI. (But the name of a village in Andarab *Pashai Kasan* can hardly be taken as a proof that it was ever spoken north of the Hindu Kush).

It is split up in many dialects, and the difference between them is much greater than might be suspected from the accounts given in LSI. of the closely related dialects of Charbagh and the lower Kunar. My Laurovan boy had to converse in Pers. with the man from Satha, and neither of them understood the Laghman dialect. Probably the people from Laghman, Alingar and Kunar are able to converse with each other.

The most convenient and most characteristic criterion for distinguishing between the Pash. dialects is founded on the treatment of groups of consonants containing an *r*: *tr*, *dr*, *kr*, *gr*, *pr*, *br*, *mr*, *str*.

On this basis we can establish the following groups of dialects<sup>1</sup>:

### *I. Western Group.*

Characteristic of this group is the fact that groups with a dental + *r* remain unchanged, and groups with gutturals or labials + *r* are treated in a different way. The same is the case in most Kafir languages.

1) *Satha* and *Shutul*: *tr*, \**dr*, *kʳ*, \**gʳ*, *pʳ*, *bʳ*, *mʳ*, *str*, e. g. *trā* "3", *putrā* "son", *kʳrū'm* "work", *kʳrū* "shouting", *prēl* "to herd" (< Skr. *prēr*- with dissimilation), *bʳrō'i* "brother", *mʳrī* "dead", *iʳtrī* Sh. *iʳtīri* S. "woman"<sup>2</sup>.

This dialect has borrowed Pers. words to a much greater extent than any of the others. This is the reason why I did not meet with any word containing the groups *gr* and *dr*. Instead of \**gʳrūm*, which we should expect

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the accompanying map. The isoglots drawn are of course quite approximate.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter on Pashai I shall employ the following abbreviations of the names of dialects: S(āṭha), Sh(utul), L(aurovān), I(shpī), Isk(yēn), Ø(zbīn), N(ajil), C(hārbāgh), K(achūr i Sālā), M(angū), Nir(lām), W(aigel), D(arra i Nūr), Kun(ar), LSI.E(ast), LSI.W(est).



on the analogy of *k<sup>u</sup>rūm*, a village is called *dē*, and *bandok* "rifle" is also used to denote a bow, originally *\*drūṇāk*.

The situation in S. and Sh. is thus very much the same as in Kati, only the *r* in *b<sup>ə</sup>rō'i* is generally pronounced further back than the post-alveolar *r'* in Kati *br'ā*. But it has a less energetic flap than ordinary *r*, and sometimes *bārō'i*, *k<sup>u</sup>rū'm* are pronounced with *r*, in fact I only heard *prēl-* and *k<sup>u</sup>rū*.

2) *Özbin* and *Najil*. To this group belongs also the dialect of *Gonopal* and *Saigel*, situated near N., which I only know from songs and single words given by my informant from L. Here also *tr*, *dr*, *str* remain: Ö. *tra* "3", *putr* "son", N. *drônōk* "rainbow", Ö. *istrī*, N. *istārī* "woman". But *kr*, *pr* become *ş*, and *gr*, *br* become *l*: *şōm* "work", *şış* "flea" (< *\*pruşi-*), *şavōr* "wound" (< *prahāra-*), *şōk* "palm of the hand" (cf. L. *lāk* < *\*prāk*), *lōmə* "village", N. *līl* "dew" (Kal. *grīl* "wet" cf. Sindhi *trēr* "dew": Kati *treveli* "wet"), *lāy-om* "my brother".

If, as I suppose, the point of departure was *tr*, *dr* but *\*kṛ*, *gr* etc. (with some kind of post-dental, "cerebral", *r*, v. p. 41), we may assume that the *r* of *kṛ*, *pr* became lateral and unvoiced: *\*kṛ* > *\*k̠*, and as an unvoiced, cerebral *l* was unknown in the language, it passed into *ş*, while *gr* became *ḡ*, which was adapted to the ordinary *l* known to the dialect.<sup>1</sup>

3) *Tagau* and *Nijrau* with the villages of *Laurovan*, *Ishpi*, *Iskyen* etc. Here we find, as in 2), *tra*, *putr*, *drônāk*, *lāma* "village" (in L. only used in poetry, and felt to be a foreign word. The ordinary word is *sāṭh* < Skr. *sārtha-*. Notice that in L. *karman-* "work" also becomes *lām*), *lyenī* "noon" (cf. Kh. *graniş*), *lāy* "brother", *lik* "dead" < *\*mriak* < *mṛtaka-*. But also *kr*, *pr* > *\*ḷ* becomes assimilated to the ordinary *l*: *lām* "work", *lašūk* "flea", *laār* "wounded", *lāk* "palm of the hand", *lēl-* "to herd" (S. *prēl-*). Probably we also have an old *kr* in *lünd* "roof", Ö. *şūnda-mālī*, East. Pash. *şlūn*, Ashk. *kr'um*, but S., Sh. *kundūr*, *kūndə*. In a similar way we find L.,

<sup>1</sup> Par. *phōr* "grain" seems to presuppose an earlier *ḷ* cerebral in Pash.

I., Isk. *luṅgalī* "mulberry", Ö., N. *ṣuṅgalī*, *ṣuṅgalī*, East. Pash. *ḡluṅālī* etc. (< \**krūṅgalī* < \**krumkali* < Skr. *kramuka-*), but S. *kuṅgālī*. Cf. the Kafir words with a simple *k*: Kati *kānelik* etc., Bashg. *kumlik*, Waig. *kuṅälilik*, Ashk. *kumalik* (Skr. *kramuka-*, cf. *krumuka-*, *kṛmuka-* > \**kurmka-li-* > *kuṅgali-*; \**kumraka-* > \**kumlaka-*?).

## II. Eastern Group.

Groups with dentals also are affected, *tr*, *str* become *ḡl*<sup>1</sup>, and *dr*, etc. *l*.

1) In Charbagh there is perhaps still a difference between an ancient *kr* and *tr*. At any rate I heard *ḡlē* "3", *puḡlem* "my son", *xuṅgalī* "mulberry", but also *ḡlām* "work". Unfortunately I only had an opportunity of noting down a few words in this dialect. In the Charbagh dialect of LSI. W. the word for work is written *xtlam-ā*, "wife" *ḡlikā*, "son" *puḡhlē*, and "3" *hlē*.

2) In the remaining eastern dialects I did not notice any difference in the treatment of *tr*, and of *kr* etc. E. g. D. *ḡlē* "3"; *ḡlekalī* "fireplace, tripod"; *puḡliem* "my son"; *yoḡlūk* "mosquito": Ö. *žātrik*; *ḡlekā*, Nir. *ḡlī* "wife" (but *šešarek*, "knife", Leech "*shelt*" < *śastra-*?), *ḡlām* "work", *ḡleṅgalī* "mulberry"; *ḡlūc* "flea"; W. *ḡlāar* "wound"; D. *ḡlānī's*, K. W. *ḡlānīs* "panther" < \**prāṇīśa-* (cf. Skr. *mṛgarāja-*, *paśupati-* etc. "lion"). With voiced occlusives: Nir. *luṅatek* "bow": L. *drōṇāk*; *lēi-* "to see": Skr. *ḍṛś-*; *lām* "village", *lāyām* "my brother"; *letik* "dead"; S. *lē* "mountain-goat": Skr. *mṛga-*. Cf. Leech "*ligà*" "tall": Skr. *dīrgha-* > \**driggha-*.

In this group the preceding dental did probably not dentalize the original *r*. Thus *tr* and *kr* became, with

<sup>1</sup> I think the sound written *ḡl* really consisted of a short *ḡ* and an unvoiced *l*. In Kun. the *l* was in some cases very faint, or not heard at all, and in C. and W. the sound seemed to be pronounced further back, something like *ḡʎ*. But within the short time I had the opportunity of hearing these dialects, I was not able to determine with certainty the exact nature of the different varieties of the sound.

loss of occlusion  $\text{ʃ}l$ ,  $x\text{ʃ}l$ . When the  $l$  had been adapted to the ordinary dental  $l$  of the Pash. phonetical system,  $x\text{ʃ}l$  became  $\text{ʃ}l$  through  $x\text{ʃ}l$  (cf. LSI. C. *xtlam*). The voiced stops were assimilated with the  $l$ :  $dr > *d\text{ʃ}l > l$ .

The development of groups with  $r$  in this dialect is very similar to that found in the neighbouring GB., where *tr*, *kr*, *pr* become  $\text{ʃ}l$ :  $\text{ʃ}l\bar{e}$  "3";  $\text{ʃ}lap$ - "to run": Psht. *trapēdāl*, Ind. loan-word; *pult* "son";  $\text{ʃ}lam$  "work";  $\text{ʃ}la$ - "to beat": *\*pra-dā-*; but *ʃigāli* "wife"; *plang-nam* "goats": Pash. D. etc.  $\text{ʃ}lāṇ$  "hegoat" < Skr. *prāṇaka-*; *dr*, *gr* become  $l$ : *ligālo* "long", *lām* "village", *lauša* "he-goat": Waig. *grauš*, but *bliaia* "brother".

In Kohistani (Garwi), too, we find traces of a similar development: *tlū* (Biddulph), *ṭhā* (LSI.) "3"; *līg* "high"; *lām* "village", but *jā* "brother". The other Kohistan dialects agree more with Shina, in which *tr*, *pr* become  $\text{ç}$ , and *dr*, *br*:  $j$ , whereas *kr*, *gr* are preserved.

Grierson (LSI., IX, 4, p. 884) compares the development in Pash. with that in Bhadrawahi (W. Pahari), where *tr* becomes *tl*, *ṭhl* (*tlāi* "3"; *tsethl* "field" < *kṣetra-*), *gr* becomes *dl*, *ḍl* (*dlaṇḍ-* "to bind": Waig. *greṇṭ*; *ḍlaū* "village"), *bhr*, *vr* become *ḍhl* (*ḍhlā* "brother"; *ḍhḷeḍḍ* "sheep" < *\*bhreḍḍ*, Skr. *bhedra-*; *ḍhlāhg* "panther" < *\*vhrāhg*, Skr. *vyāghra*) etc. It is very probable that the same factor, viz. the peculiar character of Skr.  $r$ , underlies the development in both places.

The groups of dialects established on the evidence of the treatment of groups of consonants with  $r$  appear to be well defined in other respects also.

In the field of phonetics I, 1 is separated from I, 3 through the substitution of  $\bar{o}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  for  $\bar{a}$  (e. g. S. *cōr* "4": L. *cār*), and through the use of S.  $x$ , Sh.  $\text{ṣ}$  for  $\text{çh}$  in words like S. *xā*, Sh. *ṣā* "6": L. *çhā*; S. *xīr*, Sh. *ṣīr* "milk": L. *çhīr*; S. *xelūk*, Sh. *ṣelūk* "white": L. *çhelāk*. As Sh.  $\text{ṣ}$  becomes  $x$  in S., so also does  $\text{ṣ}$  become  $\gamma$ : Sh. *ṣūn*, L. *ṣān* "standing": S. *γūn*; Sh. *aṣū* "bull": S. *aγū*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Pachaghani jargon has *ṣṣa* = *\*ṣa* "8"; *ṣekilekak* = *\*ṣelāk* "white", but *aγəzəγəzā*(!) = *\*aγā* "bull".



Within I, 3 the chief phonetic difference is the treatment of *ṣṭ*, e. g. I. *āṣṭā* "8", Isk. *āṣṭa*, L. *ālṭa*.

I, 2, has *ō*, *ū* like I, 1, but *ḥ* like I, 3. It is further characterized by having *ü* for *ū*: Ö. *dhüm* "smoke": L. *dhūm*; Ö. *güam* "wheat": L. *gūm*.

There is no phonetic trait, other than the treatment of groups with *r*, which distinguishes the eastern group as a whole from the western<sup>1</sup>. But passing from Ö. and N. to C. we cross several important isoglots, which taken together form a marked boundary between the two main groups of Pash. dialects. C. has *ā*, not *ō* (*cār* "4"), it has *ū*, not *ü* (*gūm* "wheat" etc.), and it has *ṣīr* "milk", *ṣelēk* "white" (but I heard *ṣē* "6", LSI. W. *xē*). And in C. as well as in D. and K. *y*- is preserved in words like *yāi* "11", Kun., W., Nir. and West. Pash. *žāi* etc.

It is interesting to note that C. agrees in most cases with D. and K., while Nir., which is not much higher up the valley than K., and Kun., which is close to D., agree with W. in several points, e. g. *ž* for *y*; *ü*, *ī* for *ū*, and *x*, *h* for *k(h)*. Examples of this transition are: C., D., K., M. *kār* "ear": Kun. *xār*, W. *hār*, Nir. *hār*; D. *kurī* "heel": W. *hurēm* "my heel", Nir. *hurī*; D. *kunjī*, C. *kōnci* "elbow": W. *hunjī*, Nir. *hunjī* (Skr. *kaphonī*-, Hindi *konhī*).

I could not hear any aspiration in these words in C. etc. If it exists, it is very faint. But West. Pash. certainly possesses aspirated tenues: E. g. L. *khār* "donkey", *khurī* "heel", *ōchā* "shade", *thag* "thief", *sāth* "village", *tham* "I may be", *phāl* "fruit".

Aspirated mediae also exist; but the aspiration is so faint that it is often difficult to catch, and I have noted down several words as unaspirated which ought etymologically to possess an aspirate. In some cases, however, it appears that the aspiration has actually been lost, and perhaps it is really in a "*statu evanescendi*" which has resulted temporarily in irregularities. E. g. in no dialect

<sup>1</sup> In. West. Pash. we find S. *vasūk*, L. *vasakaṭa* etc. "calf" < *vatsa*-; *mās* "fish" < *matṣya*: in East. Pash. *vacula*, *māc* etc.; but cf. also West. Pash. *uc* "spring" < *utsa*-.

was I able to detect the faintest aspiration in *gōrā* "horse", and the people always contended that there was no difference between *gō-rā* and *gō-laṅ* "bull". A slight aspiration was to be heard e. g. in *dhār* "hill" (*dār* "wood"), *dhūm* "smoke", *bhūm* "earth", *ghal* "river".

In the eastern dialects of C., D., K. I heard no aspiration, just as there is no trace of it in the specimens given in the LSI.

In Nir. W. Kun. *kh* becomes, as mentioned above, a spirant. Regarding the aspiration of mediae, I have noted W. *dhūm*; *dhār*; but Nir. *dūm*, and also W. *būnjīl* "earthquake" (Shina *būyal* < *bhūmicala*-); *gās* "chopped straw": Skr. *ghāsa*-. .

At any rate it is interesting that Pash. has, to some extent, preserved the aspiration both of tenues and mediae. This proves that the Dard disaspiration, apart from Kafiri, is a secondary development.

K., Nir., W., and probably Kun., have *s* for ancient *ś*: K. *sarai* "autumn", Nir., W. *saralī*: D. *šārālī*; K., Nir., W. *sāmek* "black": C. *šāmek*; K. *sōṇek* "red", Nir. *sūnek*, W. *sōnek* "red": D., C. *šōnek*.

Mention may also be made of the fact that in the easternmost dialects, such as D. and W., an intervocalic *g* turns into *γ* (e. g. D. *vāγan*, W. *vāγən* "wind": Nir. *vāgen*, K. *vāgan* < \**vāta-gandha*?, cf. Khaw. *gān* "wind"), and *-d-* into *-ḍ-* (W. *sedāl* "cold": Nir. *sedāl*).

There are also other points of difference between the Pash. dialects; but those already mentioned will suffice to demonstrate how important are the phonetic divergences within this language. The accompanying map shows the distribution of some of the phonetic features, as far as they can be ascertained from the scanty materials available.

They at least permit us to determine the position of the dialects treated in older vocabularies. I cannot here enter upon a discussion of the details which reveal the character of the dialects in question, but shall only sum up the results:

Raverty's *Kohistani* dialect (JASB., XXXIII, pp. 272 ff.) agrees fairly well with Sh., and the same is the case with Burnes' *Pushye* (Cabool, p. 383). Raverty's *Pashai* belongs to East. Pash., and it can be proved that its home must be in the lower Kunar valley, somewhere between the villages of Kunar and Kalatak, the place from which comes the LSI. E. Also the dialect described by Leech (JASB., 1838), and the *Kūnar* words given by Trumpp (ZDMG., 20, p. 418) belong to this part of the Kunar valley.

If we turn to the morphology and the vocabulary, we find a marked distinction between the Eastern and Western groups. A list of some characteristic forms of the numerals will make this evident:

"3" L. <i>tra</i> , S. <i>trä</i> : D. <i>ṣlē</i>	"10" L. <i>daya</i> , S. <i>dā</i> : D. <i>dē</i>
"5" » <i>pānja</i> : » <i>pañj</i>	"16" » <i>ḥui</i> , » <i>xui</i> : » <i>ṣōṛ</i>
"6" » <i>ḥa</i> , S. <i>xā</i> : » <i>ṣē</i>	"17" » <i>sattī</i> : » <i>satū</i>
"7" » <i>sāta</i> : » <i>sat</i>	"18" » <i>ālṭi</i> , S. <i>aṣṭi</i> : » <i>aṣṭu</i>
"8" » <i>ālṭa</i> , S. <i>aṣṭa</i> : » <i>aṣṭ</i>	"19" » <i>navī</i> : » <i>nau</i> ,
"9" » <i>nau</i> , » <i>nava</i> : » <i>nō</i>	K. <i>navū</i> .

The pronouns are also different. E. g. the demonstrative *elā* "this" is only known in East. Pash. (noted in D. and Nir.), while West. Pash. has L. *ae(m)*, S. *ya(m)*, N. *yē*.

The pers. pron. 2 pl. is *ēmā* (LSI. *hēmā*) in the east, but in the west generally *myā* etc. S. and Sh. have a strange form *mōmā*, which reminds us of Kal. obl. *mīmī*, while *myā* recalls Pras. *miū*.

Other local variations in the use of the pronouns are e. g. the employment of the 1 sg. obl., N. *mū*, W. *mum*, for the nom. *ā* "I", S., N., Ö. *mō*, *mū*, instead of *mam* "me, by me", and in the same dialects gen. *mau*, *tau* for *māina*, *tāina* (East. Pash. *mēnā*, *tēnā*) "mine", "thine".

In I, 3 the present base of the verbs is formed with *g*, e. g. L. *haṇ-g-ām* "I am beating", *äi-gy-ām* "I am eating", *ka-g-ām* "I am doing" (pres. indefin. *han-am*, *ay-am*, *kar-am*). In East. Pash. we likewise find a guttural:



Nir. *äigam*, D. *āakam*, W. *āgam* "I am eating"; Nir. *kāgam*, C. *kāakam* "I am doing". This form must be derived from a verbal noun in *-aka-*

In I, 1, 2 the formative element of the present is *t*: e. g. S. *han-t-īm*, *žē-t-īm*, *ka-t-ānam*, Sh. *hantim*, *žētoyem*, *katoyem*, Ö. *hantayem*, *žäitaem*, N. *žētayem*. Probably we have here the present part. in *-nt*. Ordinarily *-nt-* becomes *-nd-*; but it is quite possible that e. g. *\*hananta-*, *\*karanta-*, contracted at an early date into *\*hannta-*, *karnta-*, might result in *hanta-*, *kata-*, *nt* being treated in a special way in these combinations. Cf. the preservation of the *t* in *väst* "20" < *\*vísati-*, but *cārviyā* "80" < *catúr-(?) visàti-*.

In L. the present is inflected in the following way: *hangām*, *hangyaī*, *hangā*, *hangās*, *hangyaī*, *hangān*. The endings of the sg. and of the 3 pl. are similar in all dialects, and can easily be explained. (The intervocalic *s* in 2 sg. would regularly be lost).

But in the 1 pl. Ø. has *-ōes*, and S., Sh. *-aīs* (*žētaīs*, *žētoaīs*), before a vocalic suffix *-anz-* (*hanvanz-i* "we shall beat thee"). This suffix forms the link between Pash., Khov. etc. *-as*, and Kati *-əmiš*, Pras. *-emš-*.

In N. *-en* is also employed for the 1 pl. present, while in other dialects it is used only in the past tenses, as is natural in view of its origin in an enclitic pronoun, Skr. *naḥ*. (In the same way *-ū* < *vaḥ* is used in 2 pl. of the past tenses).

Finally Isk. has *-o* (*žäigyayo*), probably connected with the *-ū* of S. imperative *karaū* "let us do", *gaḍeū* "let us go". I suppose this to be originally a dual form, Skr. *-va*. In L. this form appears to be used only in *gaḍ(u)o* "let us go!"; in other verbs we find the ancient secondary suffix of 1 pl., e. g. *karama* "let us do".

The 2 pl. also presents difficulties. L. and Nir. *-aī* (Nir. *ēmā nivai* "you sit down"), and Nir., D. *-o* (Nir. *äyāgo*, D. *āako* "you are eating", may be explained as from *-atha* (or *-aī* perhaps from *\*-athasi*, remodelled on *-āmasi*, cf. *-aī* < *-asi?*). But in LSI. we find *hanēda* "you are beating", cf. S. imper. *hanaida* "beat you", L. *hanata*,

and in I., Isk. this termination is also used in the present (*žäigyat* "you are eating"). It seems difficult to separate this *t*, *d* from the old imper. 2 pl. in *-ta*; but the comparison is only possible if we admit the possibility of a special treatment of an intervocalic *t* in this case. It generally disappears (e. g. *lāy* "brother" < *bhrātā*, *hangā* < \**hanaka-* + *ati* etc.), but we also have Nir. *sedāl* "cold": Skr. *sītala*, Kati *šīlā*, GB. *šalah*, but Shina *šidālū*, Torwalak *šidul*. It seems possible that its morphological importance may have saved the *t* in the suffix of the 2 pl.

Still more difficult to explain is the suffix used in I, 1, 2, e. g. S. *hantunda* "you are beating", Sh. *žētundə*, Ø. *žäitōndə*, N. *žētūnde*. I am at loss to suggest any derivation of this form, which is as mysterious as the Par. 2 pl. in *-r*, and the Khow. in *-mi*. It looks as if the 2 pl. which in the course of phonetic development was likely to clash with the 3 sg., succumbed to this more vigorous and more frequently used form, and had to find expression in some new way.

I have discussed the dialectal variations of Pash. at some length in order to show that, although it must decidedly be considered as one language, there are few phonetic or morphological features common to all its dialects. In fact, the phonetic system of East. Pash. has more in common with that of GB. than with that of S.

What chiefly entitles Pash. to be called *one* language, in spite of the phonetic differences, is the comparative unity of the vocabulary, at least in so far as it has not completely succumbed to Pers. influence. While L. still shows some restraint in its borrowing, S. has lost all self-respect, and adopts Pers. words quite freely, regardless of necessity. Even the names of the parts of the body are to a great extent of Pers. origin in S.

Another feature which is very characteristic of Pash., and which is not, so far as I know, found in any of the neighbouring languages, is the extensive use of pro-

nominal suffixes denoting the object and appended to the verb.

E. g. in L. we find *haṅgām* "I am beating", *hanam* "I (shall) beat", but *haṅg-ī-ām* "I am beating thee", *hanam-ī* "I (shall) beat thee". Here also the dialects differ, both in regard to the employment of these suffixes, and as to their position. In S. I never heard these suffixes used with the present; they said *tōde hantīm* "I am beating thee", but *hanvam-ī* "I shall beat thee". In D. I heard *tarēgam-ī* "I am seeing thee", with the objective suffix placed after the subjective (originally the auxiliary). The reason why Pash. alone has developed this system, remains a matter of speculation.

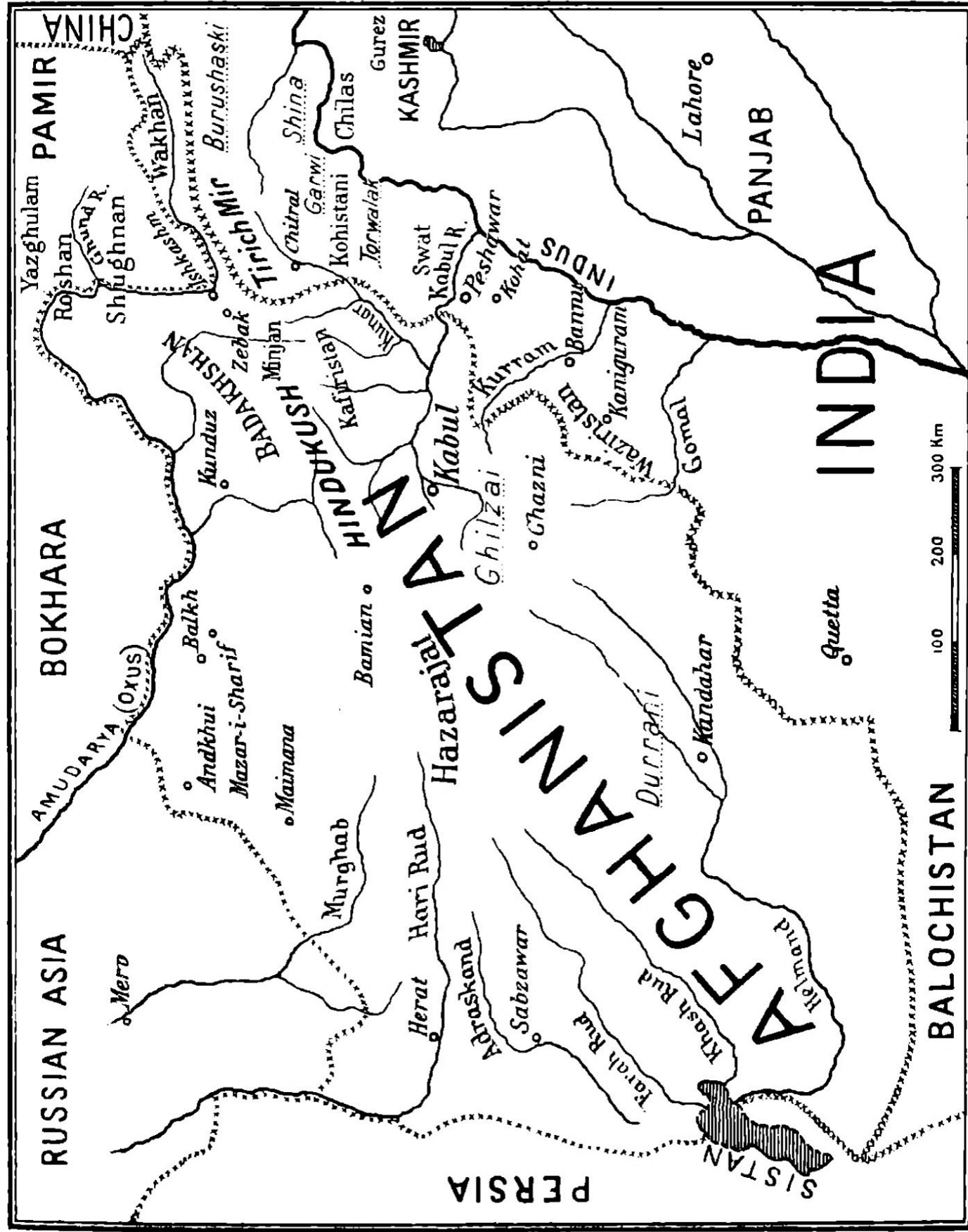
A glance at the map shows that linguistic unity cannot have been developed in the territory at present inhabited by the Pashais, the long, narrow strip of land stretching across the side valleys of the Kabul River from Gulbahar to Waigel. We must suppose that the Pashais, as their own traditions relate, once occupied the whole of the upper and middle Kabul Valley, and that they have gradually been driven back into the mountain valleys, the seclusion of which has favoured the development of dialectal varieties. And the position of the isolated Par. colonies in Nijrau and Tagau, which are completely embedded in Pash., renders it probable that this latter language has expanded westward over originally Ir. territory; but the linguistic facts, while indicating the movement of tribes, give us no key to the exact time when they took place.

Still, a systematic study of the decaying languages of north-eastern Afghanistan would be sure to produce interesting results, not only in regard to Indo-Ir. and general linguistics, but also in regard to the complicated record of this borderland, which has played such an important rôle in the history of Asiatic migrations and of the cross-currents of civilization, flowing between the East and the West.

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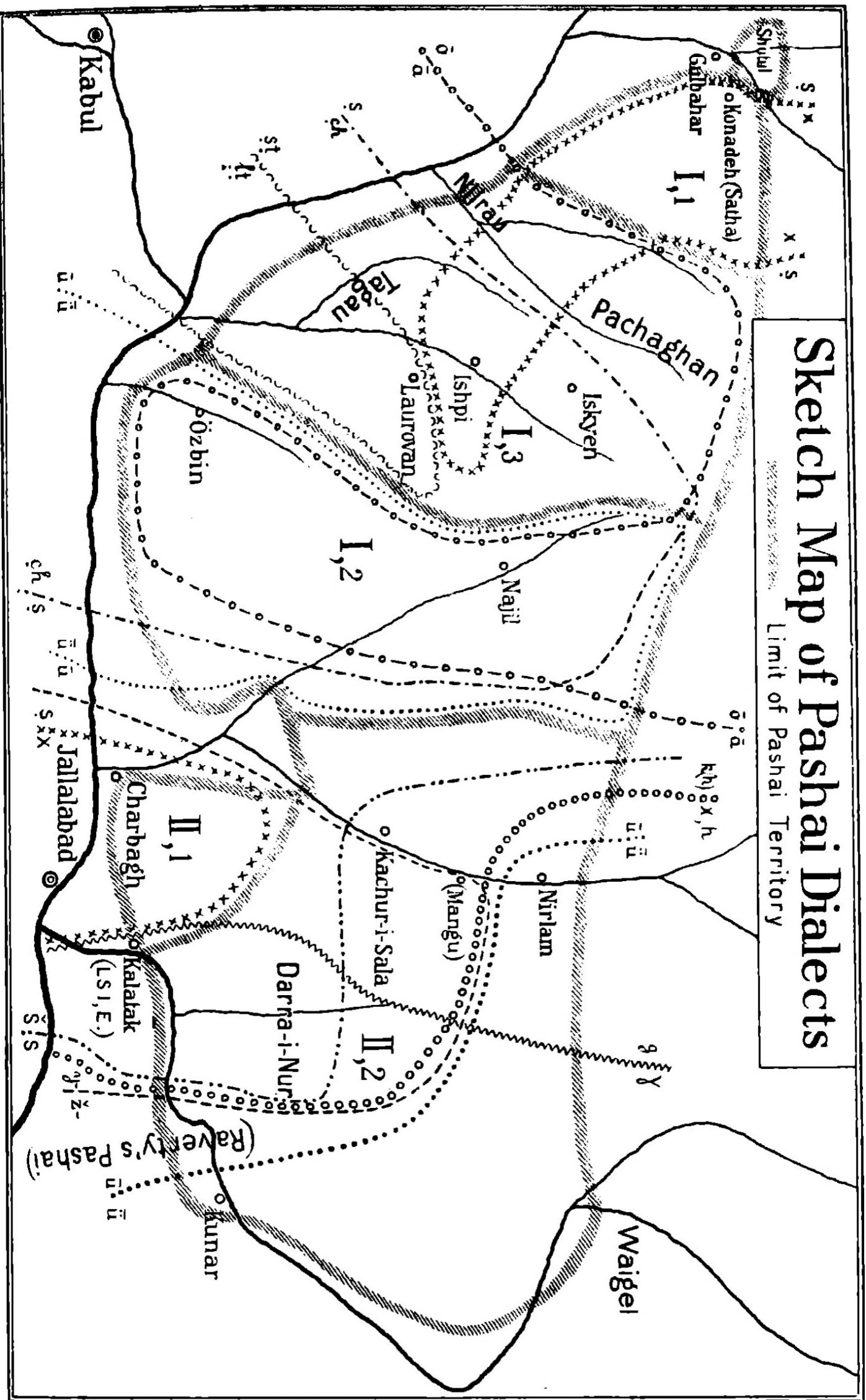






# Skelch Map of Pashai Dialects

Limit of Pashai Territory



## NOTATION OF SOUNDS.

I have tried, as far as possible, to employ a uniform system of notation and transcription; but it has not been easy to find one which suits all the languages quoted, and which at the same time conforms with the traditional transcription used in Indian and Iranian. It also was necessary to take typographical considerations. In the main I have adopted the Indian system:

*c, j* denote the palatal affricates (*tś, dž*), also in Ir.; *ç, ĵ* the corresponding retracted varieties. Consequently the dental affricates are written *ts, dz*.

*ś* is used for the Skr. palatal sibilant. In the Dard languages I write *š*, even when the sound is more or less palatal, as I have to write *š* on the Ir. side. *ṣ* is the retracted variety.

*ṭ* etc. denote retracted sounds, generally post-alveolar, and not the "cerebrals" described by Skr. grammarians. For practical reasons, however, I have to call this series "cerebrals".

*w* is the semi-vowel; but *v* is employed both for the bi-labial and labio-dental sound, with regard to which we often find variation from dialect to dialect. E. g. Khow., Kafiri, Pash. Satha have a bilabial sound, but Pash. Laurovan a labio-dental. The Psht. *v* is generally bilabial, sometimes slightly rounded. *φ* is bilabial.

*h* is the Arabic *ḥa*, or the Skr. *visarga*.

*ā* is always long.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

AO.:	Acta Orientalia	Kal.:	Kalasha
BSL.:	Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique	Kashm.:	Kashmiri
GrIrPh.:	Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie	Kh(ow).:	Khovar
JA.:	Journal Asiatique	Kurd.:	Kurdish
JASB.:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal	Lhd.:	Lahnda
JRAS.:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	Minj.:	Minjani
LSI.:	Linguistic Survey of India	Orm.:	Ormuri
MSL.:	Mémoires d.l.Soc.de Ling.	Par.:	Parachi
ZDMG.:	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft	Pash.:	Pashai
ZII.:	Zeitschr. für Indologie und Iranistik	Phl.:	Pehlevi
Ashk.:	Ashkun	Pers.:	Persian
Av.:	Avestan	Psht.:	Pashto
Bal.:	Balochi	Sak.:	Sakian
Bur.:	Burushaski	Sangl.:	Sanglichei
GB.:	Gawar	Sar.:	Sarikoli
Ind.:	Indian	Shgh.:	Shughni
Ir.:	Iranian	Skr.:	Sanskrit
Ishk.:	Ishkashmi	Soghd.:	Soghdian
		Tir.:	Tirahi
		W.:	Wakhi
		Waig.:	Waigeli
		Waz.:	Waziri Pashto
		Yazg.:	Yazghulami
		Yd.:	Yidgha
		Zeb.:	Zebaki



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